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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 447

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15 August 1983

CHINA REPORT  
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GENERAL

RENMIN RIBAO VIEWS INTERNATIONAL DEBTS SITUATION

HK250814 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 83 p 7

[Article by Chen Xiaoping [7115 1420 1627]: "The Constantly Worsening International Debt Crisis"]

[Text] At present the total figure for developing countries' international debts stands at \$700 billion and is increasing at a \$40 billion rate every year. On the basis of the most recent statistics, the number of countries unable to repay their foreign debts on time now amounts to 40, with total public and private debts to foreign countries amount to \$500 billion; at least 25 of these countries are already behind in their interest payments. The economies of Latin America--the explosion point for the international debt crisis--are witnessing a fall for the second consecutive year. Brazil, which has the biggest debt, has come up against problems in clearing its debts. Nigeria, Venezuela, and Colombia will also be facing serious financial difficulties.

In view of this situation some Western experts believe that the second wave of the international debt crisis is now beginning and that very soon it will become even more evident. One Western banker has said "the debt crisis time bomb is still ticking." Regan, U.S. Treasury Department Secretary, also recently admitted that the international debts problem has meant that "the potential for a second round of difficulties and various unfortunate developments cannot be eliminated."

The first wave of the international debt crisis began in August 1982. At that time, Mexico announced that it was unable to repay the \$81 billion interest on its loans, thus affecting over 1,000 Western banks. Later, Brazil, Argentina, and other countries also made requests for extensions on their debt repayments, thus creating the international debt crisis. This crisis meant that Western countries were faced with two choices. Either they wash their hands of the whole affair, which would mean that they would never be paid back for their old debts, or they continue to make loans and help developing countries reestablish their ability to pay.

Based on personal interests the Western countries eliminated the former choice since this would result in the default of some debtor countries and could even cause some credit banks to go bankrupt, producing a chain reaction

throughout the international banking system which could possibly result in both the debtor countries and the creditor countries "going under together."

In order to avoid such a thing happening, the Western countries adopted certain measures to continue making loans to developing countries. The first thing that they did was to increase the IMF portion of special loan drawing rights from \$61.6 billion to \$90 billion (more accurately, to about \$98.5 billion). They also decided that the United States and nine other countries should provide \$19 billion for an emergency fund to be used by developing countries. At the same time they readjusted economic policies towards debtor countries requesting loans, adopting such squeeze measures as monetary devaluation, cuts on financial deficits, and inflation controls. The Western countries also urged commercial banks to continue to provide partial loans and make it convenient for debtor countries to take out new loans. In addition, Western countries reduced their interest rates by various amounts, thus lightening the burden for credit banks and debtor countries.

However, in view of the unjust and irrational international financial, monetary, and trade systems, while these measures adopted by the Western countries did for a certain amount of time and to a certain extent ease the international debt crisis and avoid large-scale financial chaos, they did not truly solve the problem.

For example, the IMF asked the debtor countries to adopt belt-tightening measures but this often directly affected the people's standards of living and caused difficulties. Brazil accepted the loan conditions stipulated by the IMF and from February of this year it has begun a series of belt-tightening measures with the government raising taxes, a round of 20 currency devaluations to follow, and reductions in subsidies for wheat and gasoline. Since then, the inflation rate has risen, reaching 120 percent, while the prices of gasoline and bread have increased by 45 percent and 60 percent, respectively, causing great dissatisfaction among the people. Similar situations have occurred in Argentina, Peru, Mexico, and so on.

Commercial banks do not want to continue their investments either, since they face greater and greater risks. According to the most recent estimates from the Western financial world, many developing countries still need emergency loans this year. Hence, over the last few years the enormous fluctuations in interest rates have increased the risks on international loans. Because drops in export trade in many developing countries have provided them with serious problems concerning their international payments, their credit reputations have been affected and thus many Western commercial banks have reduced or ceased providing new loans to developing countries. The result has been that the Western countries' plans to raise between \$15 billion and \$20 billion, the amount desperately needed by developing countries this year, have come up against difficulties.

When the tightening measures of debtor countries are not implemented effectively, the IMF often ceases to provide these countries with loans, adopts very inflexible methods for the arrangement of new loans, or refuses to extend loan repayment periods, which results in greater financial difficulties

for the debtor country. When Western commercial banks extend loans to developing countries, they often arrange for the IMF to act as guarantor. So, when the IMF stops extending loans to certain debtor countries, commercial banks do likewise and cut their loans, creating a chain reaction. For example, at the end of May this year, the IMF refused to extend a second emergency loan of \$411 million to Brazil because the latter has been unable to reach the tightening targets stipulated by the IMF. Thus commercial banks also suspended the second payment of a \$540 million loan to Brazil.

On the one hand the Western countries demand that debtor countries restore their repayment capacity as quickly as possible, and on the other hand they also adopt many ways of shifting the crisis, thus increasing financial difficulties. Developing countries mainly depend on exports to repay their foreign debts, but the trade protectionist measures adopted by developed countries severely affected the international balance of payments of developing countries. In addition, although Western countries' interest rates have come down over the last year, their inflation rates have fallen even faster, so actual interest rates are still too high. What is more, the positive side of drops in interest rates is often minimized by increases in the risk premium in loans. Thus the loans that developing countries are now taking out are still high interest loans.

In conclusion the series of measures adopted by Western countries so far are all merely temporary remedies and props and cannot fundamentally solve the serious debt problems of developing countries.

The present international debt crisis is a structural crisis. For a long time industrially developed Western countries have taken advantage of the old international economic order to shift economic crises onto developing countries. In addition these developed countries have taken advantage of their monopoly in international trade and finance to impose irrationally structured debts onto developing countries which in the long run will produce international debt crises. Hence only by reforming this unjust and irrational international trade and finance system and establishing a new international economic order can developing countries have a chance to shed the burden of their debts and can the developed countries free themselves of international debt crises.

CSO: 4005/1019

GENERAL

OPEC'S DECISION CONDUCTIVE TO STABLE OIL PRICES

HK221121 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 83 p 7

["Short" commentary: "Another Contribution To Keeping World Oil Prices Stable"]

[Text] Petroleum industry ministers from 13 OPEC countries recently held a meeting in Helsinki. After full consultation, the meeting finally decided to consolidate the agreement reached by the organization at the London conference held in March this year. This decision is another important contribution made by OPEC to stabilizing the world oil market and to stimulating world economic recovery.

Since the London conference, there has been no remarkable economic recovery in Western countries, no increasing demand on the world oil market, the differences between oil-producing countries have not yet been completely eliminated, and Western oil companies have continued using their stocks and strategic reserves, all resulting in unstable prices on the world oil market. In such a situation, all countries throughout the world are paying the greatest attention to OPEC and wondering if that body can maintain its own unity and unity with other oil-producing countries of the Third World so as to avoid a price war and keep world oil prices stable. The Helsinki meeting has successfully answered this question.

Many reasons may account for the success of the meeting, the fundamental one being that the OPEC countries have taken into account the overall situation, strengthened their unity, acted in unison, and made joint efforts to stabilize the world oil market. Meanwhile, OPEC has also won resolute support from other oil-producing countries of the Third World. These countries have taken the initiative in coordinating with OPEC on oil policy and in strengthening links and cooperation, thus enhancing the confidence and power of OPEC in keeping oil prices stable and infusing new positive elements into the world oil market for its future development. This spirit of solidarity, cooperation and coordinating prices is not only indispensable to future efforts made by OPEC to continue keeping oil prices stable, but also extremely important to the vast number of Third World countries fighting for the establishment of a new international economic order.

CSO: 4005/1019

UNITED STATES

U.S., LEBANON VIEW ISRAELI PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL

OW211244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 21 Jul 83

[Text] Washington, 20 Jul (XINHUA)--Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil said here today that his government opposes Israel's decision on a partial pullback of its forces in Lebanon.

"We are against the partial withdrawal...it means a de facto partition of Lebanon," al-Jumayyil told reporters after a meeting with U.S. congressmen.

Al-Jumayyil said during the meeting, the Lebanese sources disclosed, that "the most important reality for Lebanon is the restoration of sovereignty through the removal of all forces from our country."

Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salim, who is with the visiting president in Washington, also told reporters that "after 8 years of war and destruction, Lebanon is in no mood to talk about an army withdrawal of one or two kilometers or 500 yards."

The Israeli decision to redeploy its occupation troops in Lebanon came after Prime Minister Menachem Begin canceled a scheduled trip to Washington next week for talks with President Reagan and when the Lebanese president was beginning high-level talks in Washington.

Israel has made it clear that its troops will stay in the new redeployed area in South Lebanon until Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization agree to withdraw from Lebanon.

The U.S. White House and the State Department in their statements today neither approved nor criticized the Israeli decision. They said that the U.S. position on partial withdrawal "has not changed" and that the basic objective is "full withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon." Any partial withdrawal, therefore, should be "within the framework" of that objective and "should not complicate the very difficult tasks facing the government of President al-Jumayyil," they said.

Al-Jumayyil will meet President Ronald Reagan on Friday. He is expected to tell Reagan his opposition to the Israeli decision.

CSO: 4000/205



UNITED STATES

REAGAN ON EARLY SOLUTION OF LEBANESE ISSUE

CW230758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0742 GMT 23 Jul 83

[Text] Washington, 22 Jul (XINHUA)--President Reagan said today that the United States "remains firmly committed to the earliest possible resolution of the conflict in Lebanon." Reagan made the statement after meeting the visiting Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil at the White House.

At a departure ceremony for the Lebanese president, Reagan said their talks today focused on the "next steps in securing Lebanon's independence." He did not mention what these "next steps" are.

Al-Jumayyil in his brief remarks reiterated Lebanon's objective--the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon and reconstruction of a civilian, democratic and united Lebanon.

He said that he continues to be confident that the major problems confronting Lebanon and the Middle East "can be best addressed and resolved by full cooperation with our Arab community and our American friends."

This is al-Jumayyil's second trip to Washington since becoming president of Lebanon, the first being in October last year. After his arrival on 19 July, he has met Vice-President George Bush, Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Their discussions were said to be in the context of supporting the goals of Lebanon for sovereignty, unity and integrity. And emphasis was placed on the need to achieve as soon as possible the complete withdrawal of all external forces. They also discussed U.S. security and economic assistance, Israel's redeployment decision and broader regional issues.

As to the "next steps" referred to by President Reagan, a senior administration official explained at the White House that "they are basically try harder, new faces. This is not to say there is a fundamental change in concept or in strategy." He said that there is a "very solid consensus" between the United States and Lebanon on what is going to be taken to achieve the withdrawal of foreign forces but "that is not to say it is going to work necessarily."

Another senior administration official disclosed that they also discussed the Soviet role in the Middle East. He said the United States keeps looking for a "constructive Soviet role" in the Middle East. The United States is in contact with the Soviets, he said.

UNITED STATES

U.S. RESPONDS TO NICARAGUAN PEACE PROPOSAL

OW211120 Beijing XINHUA in English 1104 GMT 21 Jul 83

[Text] Washington, 20 Jul (XINHUA)--The U.S. Government today described the peace initiative for Central America put forward by the Nicaraguan Government as "a positive step," but claimed that it has "serious shortcomings."

The Nicaraguan Government yesterday offered a six-point peace plan including the immediate signing of a non-aggression pact between Nicaragua and Honduras, a halt to arms supplies from any country to the belligerent forces in El Salvador, an end to the use of foreign territories to attack countries with internal conflicts, an agreement on non-interference in the internal affairs and an end to foreign military bases and maneuvers.

Many points of the proposal are related to the U.S. policy in the region, such as U.S. support for the Salvadoran Government and the Nicaraguan anti-government guerrillas based in Honduras.

In their separate statements of the same version, the White House and the State Department seem to kick the ball into the court of Latin American countries. The statements accused the proposal of putting Salvadoran guerrillas "on the same level" as the Salvadoran Government. Other "shortcomings," as the statements charged, include a failure "to take into account the need for true democracy as a means to resolve the internal problems of the countries of the region" and a failure to "deal with Nicaragua's military buildup."

However, the statements expressed U.S. hope that "the Nicaraguan proposal along with those put forth by other countries of the region would be considered, refined and expanded as necessary" at a meeting later this month of the Contadora Group and the five Central American countries.

Asked whether the U.S. will cut back military maneuvers in the region probably in the near future as a corresponding gesture to the proposal, State Department spokesman John Hughes said today: "I don't know that any consideration is being given to that."

Meanwhile, Pentagon sources said that another aircraft carrier and its escorts will probably be sent to operate off the Central American coast in future U.S. military exercises there. Yesterday, the Pentagon dispatched an eight-warship battle group led by the Ranger aircraft carrier to the region.

CSO: 4000/205



UNITED STATES

ISRAEL TO SEND HONDURAS WEAPONS AT U.S. REQUEST

OW211850 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 21 Jul 83

[Text] Washington, 21 Jul (XINHUA)--Israel, at the request of the United States, has agreed to send weapons seized from the Palestine Liberation Organization during the invasion of Lebanon last year to Honduras for eventual use by Nicaraguan rebels, THE NEW YORK TIMES reported today quoting senior Reagan administration officials.

The arms shipments, which began recently, include artillery pieces, mortar rounds, mines, hand grenades and ammunition. "They are part of an enlarged Israeli role in Central America that was encouraged by the United States as a way of supplementing American military aid to friendly governments and supporting insurgent operations against the Nicaraguan Government," the officials were quoted as saying.

Israel has long been reported as an independent supplier of arms in Central America. The new role of cooperation with the United States brings Israel closer to acting as a surrogate for the United States in the latter's intervention in Central America.

American officials, in confirming Israel's collaboration, said that the Reagan administration, concerned about congressional limitations on involvement in Central America, had encouraged the Israeli activities as a means of supplementing American security assistance to "friendly governments."

In addition, the officials said, the administration wanted to establish new lines of support to Nicaraguan rebels in case Congress approved legislation that would cut off covert support for the insurgents, who now number about 10,000 troops. The Reagan administration has asked Congress for \$80 million to finance them through September 1984.

The report said the administration officials declined to say how Honduras would pay for the arms, but they did not rule out the possibility that American aid might be used. The Reagan administration has asked Congress to approve \$41 million in military aid to Honduras in the fiscal year that begins this September.

CSO: 4000/205

UNITED STATES

COSTA RICAN WEEKLY HITS U.S. 'BIG STICK' POLICY

OW240852 Beijing XINHUA in English 0713 GMT 24 Jul 83

[Text] San Jose, 23 Jul (XINHUA)--An English weekly in Costa Rica has criticized the U.S. as going back to the old "big stick" policy in Central America. The TICO TIMES said in an editorial yesterday that "all we can discern is the ominous shadow of the old big stick and the start of another disastrous chapter in the history of U.S. relations with its southern neighbors."

The weekly gave the following evidences to support its argument:

--U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger claimed in a speech several weeks ago that El Salvador is "on the mainland of the United States" and that "we do have a responsibility for the defense of the continental United States, over and above all other priorities";

--The Reagan administration is planning a "total offensive" against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the guerrillas in El Salvador;

--Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger who once declared, in reference to Chile, "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist," is now heading President Reagan's brand-new commission on Central America;

--A flotilla of U.S. warships is steaming to the Pacific Coast of Central America, "as a demonstration of North American interest in the region."

CSO: 4000/205

UNITED STATES

BRIEFS

McFARLANE APPOINTED MIDEAST ENVOY--Washington, 22 Jul (XINHUA)--President Reagan today announced his designation of Robert C. McFarlane, deputy assistant for national security affairs, as his personal representative in the Middle East in place of Philip Habib. Speaking at the departure ceremony for the visiting Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil, he also said that McFarlane and his team will depart for the Middle East within 10 days. McFarlane's predecessor Habib has met with difficulties in his mission to advance Reagan's Middle East peace initiative. A graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy in 1959, McFarlane has been based at the White House as deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs since January 1982. McFarlane said after his appointment, "it is incumbent on the United States to do everything possible that we can to bring peace to this troubled area, first in Lebanon and then to look forward to the broader peace process."  
[Text] [OW230348 Beijing XINHUA in English 0213 GMT 23 Jul 83]

CSO: 4000/205

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

BRIEFS

RAIDS ON KABUL AIRPORT--In the first 9 days of July, Afghan guerrillas raided Kabul Airport twice and hit many Soviet planes. Kabul Airport was originally an international airport. Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a large number of Soviet MIG fighters and armed helicopters have been stationed there. On the night of 1 July, Afghan guerrillas raided Kabul Airport with bazookas and machineguns and hit two passenger aircraft, two helicopters, and one MIG fighter. On the night of 9 July, the guerrillas again raided Kabul airport and hit many other aircraft and damaged the control tower. It has been reported that Afghan guerrillas recently dispatched some well-trained shock teams to operate in Kabul and nearby areas. Violent gunfire and explosions were heard in Kabul almost every day last week. The guerrillas destroyed several power transmission line towers east of Kabul and threatened many main highways around Kabul. [Text] [From the "International Current Events" program] [OW180536 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1150 GMT 16 Jul 83]

CSO: 4005/1020

EASTERN EUROPE

SHIJIE ZHISHI ON HUNGARY'S ECONOMIC REFORM

HK190533 Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 83 pp 2-3

[Article by Jin Liangping [6855 5328 1627]: "Hungary's Economic System Reform"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Hungary began its economic system reform in 1968, and won comparatively remarkable results over the years, attracting the attention of many countries.

/Results of that reform/ The results of Hungary's economic system reform can be generalized mainly as:

First, the structure of the national economy has been gradually readjusted and the grave disproportion caused by the unrealistic pursuit of high-speed development of heavy industry has been overcome, so that a comparatively appropriate proportion has been gradually formed in the readjustment of the relations between industry and agriculture, and between light and heavy industries within the realm of industry. At present, the growth rate of the national economy cannot be said to be very high; however, the development has been comparatively stable, and economic results have been raised by a certain degree. In particular, agriculture's backward situation has basically changed, and it has marched into the world's advanced ranks. Its average per capita production of grain ranks fourth in the world. In the past, several hundred thousand tons of grain had to be imported annually, now several hundred thousand or up to 1 million tons can be exported annually. Second, the people's living standard has been raised considerably. There was a growth rate of only 1 percent in the actual wages of the workers and staff during the years from 1950 to 1955 before the reform took place (in 3 of these years there was a drop); the growth rate was 2.6 percent from 1957; and up to 3.2 percent from 1967 to 1978 after the reform. There has been a more rapid growth in the income of the peasants. Third, the variety of commodities and their quantities has been greatly increased. Supply is comparatively ample, and the market is quite prosperous. Hungary has changed from a backward agricultural-industrial country into an agricultural-industrial country possessed of a medium level of development.

/The fermentation of the reform/ Hungary's economic system reform has gone through a rather long course of recognition and fermentation. The 1956 "Hungarian Incident" was a turning point. This incident made the leadership

of the Hungarian party and Government begin paying attention to economic problems while handling their political problems, realizing that the one-sided development of heavy industry, and the pursuit of "high speed" has caused grave disproportion in the national economy and the downgrading of the people's living standard. In 1957, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held its national congress, which carried on initial discussions on economic reform, drawing up the basic principles for perfecting the economic management system. It was not until 1964 that a resolution was passed on making all-round studies of the past economic system. In the 1965 enlarged national congress, the necessity of economic reform was affirmed, and the concrete contents, methods, and measures were expounded. In 1966, the resolution on economic reform was made. From 1966 to 1967, a number of enterprises were selected throughout the nation to carry out experiments in reform, so as to train cadres and gain experience. The new economic system began to spread nationwide in 1968. It took altogether 11 to 12 years for the reform to undergo the whole process from fermentation to all-round implementation.

/The restructuring period with agriculture as the key/ The dozen or so years may be said to have been a process of gradual restructuring. From the Hungarian incident to 1964 was the period of economic readjustment, with agriculture as the key and with partial reform; starting from the end of 1964, it was the period of all-round restructuring, with industry as the key.

The restructuring primarily began with agriculture. First, aiming at the grave disproportion between agriculture and industry, and the situation of the slow development of agriculture, measures were taken to readjust the agricultural policies, changing the policy of relying on tax revenues and the low-price purchase of agricultural products for the development of industry, abolishing the system of the obligatory sale of agricultural products, raising the purchasing price of agricultural products, and practicing financial allowances in agriculture; at the same time, the cooperation movement was carried out on a new basis on the principle of mutual benefit on a voluntary basis and persuasion and education. In 1967, agricultural cooperation was once again realized, and it was stipulated that both state-owned and agricultural cooperatives were able to decide for themselves their own production plans and the sales of their products; mandatory planning indexes issued by the state were abolished. The fulfillment of the national economic plan of the state chiefly relied on readjustment by such economic means as prices, tax revenues, credit loans, and so on.

These measures adopted by the Hungarian Government stimulated the initiative of the peasants, bringing about the rapid recovery and development of agriculture. In the early 1960's, Hungary was still not self-sufficient in grain; but in 1965 it achieved self-sufficiency in grain and there was a surplus. In the past decade, the export of Hungarian agricultural products has increased 300 percent, and this, together with the export of food industries accounts for about one-fourth of the total exports of the whole nation. Agriculture has become an important department for Hungary in acquiring its hard currencies and rubles. The development of agriculture has promoted the prosperity of Hungary's market and the comparative stability of the people's livelihood.



/The agricultural reform is expanding/ To develop agriculture further, new agricultural organization forms are taking shape; at present there have appeared three categories. First, agricultural cooperative enterprises, formed on the basis of specialized distribution of labor, to carry on comprehensive production and multiple operations; second, agriculture-industry combines, as an organizational form of joint management of agricultural and food-processing enterprises; third, an industrial production system, which helps to spread rapidly and to carry on incessant researches on modern agricultural technology and techniques, so as to cause agricultural production to be carried out in the form of factories, and to raise the productivity and output of agricultural production. Also, in order to support individual peasants and private plot economy, most agricultural cooperatives in Hungary have established private plot economic commissions and specialized labor groups.

/The essence of the all-round restructuring/ On the basis of the achievements of agricultural restructuring, the Hungarian Government began to carry out the all-round restructuring of the economic system with industry as the key. The essence of the reform in the economic management system was: Linking the national economic plan with market economy, linking the leadership of the central authorities in the national economic plan with the expansion of the decisionmaking powers of the enterprises, and linking the administrative means with economic means in economic management, with emphasis on economic means. This was an economic system reform of a fundamental nature. Therefore, Hungary was very cautious about it. The reform was carried out from the three aspects of the planning system, the readjustment system, and the organizational system.

In planning, the state's leadership in unified planning has been upheld. However, apart from some important departments and products where the state continues to issue instructions or definite production tasks, the system of issuing planned indexes of a directive nature through various departments to the enterprises was abolished. Before drawing up the national economic plan, the state listens to the opinions of the key enterprises of the whole nation, so as to make the national plan as practical as possible. Once the plan is adopted, it is sent to economic administrative departments of the state only. In order to make the plans of the enterprises conform with the requirements of the national plan, the state circulates a notice among the enterprises with the contents of the national economic plan, and they in turn refer to the requirements of the national economic plan and draw up their own plans in accordance with the demands of the market and their own conditions. To ensure the fulfillment of the national economic plan, economic administrative departments might make use of economic readjustment means such as the systems of profits, prices, tax revenues, credit loans, and so on to make the plans of the enterprises adapt to the national plan.

In economic readjustment, the core was the price problem. Three price forms have been practiced in Hungary: fixed price, floating price, and free price. The institution of floating and free prices is aimed at promoting competition between enterprises, stepping up the progress of technology, and raising efficiency. Also, the state might link itself with the economic interests

of the enterprises and of every laborer through the system of distribution of income between the state and the enterprises, the floating wage system, and the tax revenue system, and, through these systems, exercise necessary control.

In the organizational system, as the arrangement of personnel was involved, only partial readjustment was carried out before 1980; it is in recent years that readjustment in a wider scope has been carried out in the expansion of the reform.

/New measures that have drawn attention/ During the period from 1968 to 1972, Hungary expanded the decisionmaking powers of the localities and enterprises to a certain extent in its economic system reform. This stimulated initiative in various fields, and the economy developed rapidly. However, owing to the lack of experience, and the imperfections of the system, there were supporters of the process of reform, but at the same time there were opponents, and there were also changes in international conditions and so on, and the measures adopted in the period from 1973 to 1978 suffered from some halts and shrinkages. This zigzagging in the reform made Hungary see not only that the reform was necessary but that it must be continually expanded. Since 1979, new measures have been adopted, aiming at the problems existing in the former period. What has drawn the attention of people among these measures is the universal adoption of the "competitive" price system, the legalization of the "second economy," and the reform of administrative organs.

The "competitive" price system means to enable the prices of products gradually to reflect genuinely the economic costs, and to change from the method of providing large amounts of allowances to the consumers and factories from the state, resulting in the condition of prices being out of joint with the world market. This change will necessarily take a considerably long transitional period. In order to ensure the stability of the people's livelihood, at present, the Hungarian Government is exercising comparatively strict control of prices, especially prices of consumer goods closely connected with the lives of the people; even "free prices" cannot be entirely free. And it is imperative to submit an application if the prices of free price products are to be raised. The National Goods and Materials and Price Bureau has the authority to overrule an application if it thinks there are not enough grounds for raising the price.

The "second economy" means that the workers and staffs and other personnel are allowed to engage in production or repair work, which creates wealth for society, or other labor of a service nature, in their spare time. Under current Hungarian laws and decrees, people are allowed not only to set up small cooperatives, cooperative specialized groups of industries and service trades, but also to carry on production with equipment of the enterprises in their spare time.

In administrative organs, Hungary has combined 17 of its ministries into 13, and has come to realize that if enterprises are too large in scope, they will result in monopoly in some degree and in restriction of competition, which is disadvantageous to raising production. Therefore, it has changed the method



of merging and concentrating enterprises, and has adopted the measures of disbanding trusts, encouraging various ministries to set up medium- and small-type enterprises, and those large enterprises possessing the right conditions are encouraged to derive from themselves several medium or small enterprises or to set up branches. Individuals are encouraged to go into partnership in setting up small cooperative enterprises. In commercial and industrial departments, it is allowed to adopt the form of accepting invitations or letting out certain small enterprises or stores under poor management, and transferring them to individual management. Conditions have also been realized for hiring laborers in privately-owned small enterprises. It was stipulated in the past that the number of hired laborers was limited to 5, but now the limit is expanded to 30, and so on.

Hungary has won considerably good results in its economic system reform; however, there have also appeared some problems remaining to be solved; such as, with the expansion of the decisionmaking powers of the enterprises, how is the state to control investments in the enterprises, reduce investments and the blind expansion of capital construction, and gradually reduce state subsidies for the prices of products, so as to lighten the financial difficulties without causing fluctuations of the home market; how to further establish a complete administration system in developing science and technology, so as to promote the development of important technological items which the enterprises are unable to develop or are not willing to spend money on; how to further perfect the democratic administration system in the enterprises, so as to overcome the phenomena of overuse of official authority by some of the leaders of the enterprises, and the wide gaps in incomes of the workers, and so on.

CSO: 4005/1018

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO ON DENG'S 'SELECTED WORKS'

HK151323 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 5 Jul 83 p 2

[Article by Wang Lu [3076 7120]: "A Mighty Ideological Weapon in Opening Up a New Situation"]

[Text] The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" (1975-1982) was published on the anniversary of the birth of the party. These selected works by Comrade Deng Xiaoping are the product of the great historical period of the turning point and they profoundly reflect historical demands and the aspirations of the people. They are the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the party and of the fresh, new experiences of the masses. They represent an important political and theoretical record of our party in this new historic age. These writings are the model of the integration of some generalized Marxist truths with the concrete situation in China and of the correct handling and solving of certain fundamental problems arising within the developmental course of China's socialist cause. Its publication has added new brilliance to the theoretical treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. Not only do these pieces of work possess indelible historical significance, they are also of great guiding significance for China's present and future socialist construction.

Deng Xiaoping's words permeate through to politics, economics, science, education, literature and art, the united front, army building, and party building, and thus they are rich in content. In a nutshell, these works include the following 10 aspects: 1) The breaking down of the confines of dogmatism and individual idolatry and the reestablishment of the true and honest ideological line of dialectical materialism; 2) the wiping out of obstructions and the realigning of the work focus on economic construction; 3) understanding the situation in China and getting things moving along a road of socialist modernized construction suitable for China; 4) paying attention to intellectuals and knowledge and science and education; 5) full exploitation of the natural superiority of the socialist system and reforms in the party's and the state's leadership systems; 6) the construction of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization at the same time as constructing a high level of socialist material civilization; 7) the setting up of a united front of revolutionary patriotism; 8) the construction of a modernized and regularized revolutionary army; 9) making party construction the powerful nucleus for leading socialist modernized construction; and

10) the preservation of Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position and the upholding and development of Mao Zedong Thought. All young people should study thoroughly and come to understand these important ideologies and theories.

One of the major aspects of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is the way in which it steadfastly emphasizes the guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist ideological line. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the first thing that Comrade Deng Xiaoping did was to call for the whole party to emancipate its thinking, break its shackles and return to the Marxist-Leninist ideological line of seeking truth from facts, so that China might eradicate erroneous "leftist" guiding ideologies and free itself from the difficulties of hesitant progress. After the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee the party finally reestablished the Marxist-Leninist ideological line of seeking truth from facts and in so doing it swept away obstacles and promoted the restoration of order out of chaos on every front line, thus gaining enormous victories for socialist construction.

Under the guidance of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and on the basis of the actuality of Chinese society, Comrade Deng Xiaoping adopted the fundamental concepts of Marxism and in timely fashion announced that the focus of our work should be shifted toward economic construction so that the social productive forces might develop quickly and the material, cultural, and day-to-day needs of the people might be gradually satisfied. He called many times for the eradication of obstacles and the single-hearted and constant implementation of economic construction. Comrade Deng Xiaoping especially stressed the need to draw up policies and guidelines on the basis of China's situation and to move along the road to modernized construction in a style suitable for China. When young people study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" they must first and foremost concentrate on studying the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and they must overcome the influence of idealistic metaphysics and ensure that their thinking corresponds with scientific dialectical materialism. All of this is extremely important in clearly understanding the situation, appreciating the policies and principles drawn up in line with China's situation, and ensuring that our own study and work revolves around the central theme of economic construction.

As early as 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed that it was necessary to build up an atmosphere of respect for knowledge and talent in order to ensure the smooth running of the four modernizations program. Starting out from the basis of the Marxist concept that science and technology represent the productive forces and basing his proposals on the fact that science and technology had played an important role in the development of the social productive forces over the previous few decades throughout the world, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out that the key to achieving the four modernizations in China was to develop science and education and to bring about the modernization of science and technology. Comrade Deng Xiaoping scientifically illustrated that in a socialist society both those who work with their minds and those who work with their bodies are workers and in addition he also illustrated the dialectical relationship between "red" and "expert." These richly visionary explanations provided us with a firm

theoretical foundation for promoting respect for intellectuals and knowledge and further implementing the policies for intellectuals. They also placed a heavy duty on the shoulders of our young people to study hard for the four modernizations construction program. We must study politics, the social sciences, and the natural sciences and all applied knowledge so that each of us becomes a talented person for the four modernizations program.

In recent years Comrade Deng Xiaoping has constantly stressed that in order to carry out the four modernizations we must carry out a series of reforms. These reforms must run through the entire process of the four modernizations. In his article "Reforms to the Party and State Leadership Systems" he systematically explains the problems in this area and accurately points out the direction that reforms should take. Studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's explanations of these reforms will ensure that our young people integrate courage for carrying out reforms and the spirit of creativity and enterprise with a scientific stance and scientific theory. Under the guidance of the party we must without fail eradicate mistakes and errors, so that the natural superiority of the socialist system may achieve full expression.

Within the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" there are many important discussions of direct relevance to the healthy growth of the younger generation. Diligently studying these explanations and discussions will help us train ourselves to become the new generation of communists. Every young person must bring himself or herself up within the practice of socialism. Young people must give priority to upholding the correct political direction. In these new historical conditions Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that to realize the four modernizations meant that we must uphold the four fundamental principles, namely to uphold the socialist road, to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, to uphold the leadership of the Communist Party and to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. These four fundamental principles have become the common political foundation for united progress amongst all the peoples of China and they also put concrete demands on young people to maintain a firm and accurate political direction. The outlining of the four fundamental principles has meant that in the light of the new situation we can now maintain a clear head and a powerful capacity for differentiating and thus progress in the direction of socialism.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's clear and precise explanations concerning the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization have correctly and clearly outlined the ways in which the moral qualities of our youth should be trained and fostered, their ideological standards improved, and a correct work view established. In 1978, he said in a speech at the National Education Work Forum, "We must make great efforts to promote industrious study, respect of discipline, love of labor, altruism, arduous struggle, heroic fighting against enemies, and other revolutionary habits amongst young people. We must bring up young people to be loyal to their socialist homeland, loyal to the proletariat revolutionary cause, and loyal to outstanding, talented people with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought so that when they later take up their work positions they will become workers with a high sense of political responsibility and a highly collective spirit with a work style which

displays firm revolutionary thinking and the tendency to seek truth from facts and adopt the mass line and they will be workers who will respect discipline and work wholeheartedly and actively for the people." These words were of penetrating significance and embodied the great expectations that the older generation of revolutionaries has towards young people, and thus they are worthy of being engraved on the hearts of each and every one of us. His words "that the people of every nationality in China must all become cultured, disciplined, moral people with lofty ideals" has entered the hearts of everyone and today it has become the model for behavior and the target of all the people in China, especially young people.

The 12th CPC National Congress called for the opening up of a new situation in socialist modernized construction and this has now become the unshirkable duty of the new generation of young people in China. The old generation of revolutionaries fought and struggled for several decades, transforming a dark China into a brilliant, shining China. Today, the glorious aims of the four modernizations, which will bring about the construction of a strong and flourishing China from backward China, are being put into the hands of this new generation. We must develop and advance the communist cause begun by the last generation. If the revolutionary cause is to be handed down then we must study and learn from the older generation, for their experiences come from many years of revolutionary practice and are the result of melding victories and defeats and comparing correct decisions and mistakes, and they were hard-earned. As these experiences are distilled into revolutionary theory they become even more precious treasures. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" are the assimilation and theoretical condensation of 30 years of experiences in socialist construction. By earnestly studying and understanding its essence we may gain great nourishment, and thus deepen our understanding of the party line, principles, and policies and raise our consciousness concerning implementing the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress. In addition we will strengthen our revolutionary conviction and increase our boldness in probing for the Chinese-style road of socialist modernized construction as well as improving our awareness and working harder to train ourselves as new communists.

The publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" illustrates the new, lofty theoretical levels of the CPC in guiding work in all areas in this new historical period. It also demonstrates the powerful life force that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought represents in China. Mao Zedong Thought is the rich product of applying Marxist-Leninism to China's revolutionary practice, and through practice Comrade Deng Xiaoping has upheld and applied new experiences and new theories to condense, enrich, and develop Mao Zedong Thought. As time passes the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" will illustrate its value more and more.

CSO: 4005/1022



## ATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DENG'S THESIS ON THEORETICAL WORK

HK251527 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496]: "Theoretical Work Must Serve Socialist Modernization--Studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Thesis on the Task of Theoretical Work"]

[Text] The party's theoretical work is an important component part of the party's entire work. In particular, during the period of the great historical turning point, the party and people are facing strenuous and complicated tasks, and a number of new problems. Theories are badly needed in order to guide practice. The masses urgently need theories. This shows the importance and marked role of theoretical work and the responsible social duty of theoretical workers.

The third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee explicitly put forth lofty tasks for the CPC Central Committee on the theoretical front. Shortly after the third plenary session, mandated by the CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made an important speech, "Adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles," at a meeting on the party's theoretical work to discuss the guidelines for the work. His speech was of great practical significance and aimed at overcoming ills of the times. Proceeding from national conditions in our country, the speech not only discussed the issue of modernization with Chinese characteristics and the necessity of upholding the four modernizations, which is closely connected with the success or failure of the socialist cause in our country, but also expounded the task of the party's ideological and theoretical work. It set explicit demands on theoretical work and placed high hopes on theoretical workers. There is no doubt that conscientiously studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thesis is a matter of profound significance in effectively doing theoretical research work, theoretical education, and propaganda under the conditions of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization so that our theoretical work can serve well the socialist cause, which is forging ahead and bringing about changes day after day.

Profoundly Study Important Problems Brought About by Socialist Modernization

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Profoundly studying new situations and new problems occurring in the process of realizing the four modernizations

and providing answers with great guiding significance is a great contribution made by our ideological and theoretical workers to Marxism. This also means that they truly hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought." This is a fundamental orientation and task of the theoretical task during the new period. All revolutionary and scientific theories occur in practice and their vitality is also provided by practice. They are tested by practice, serve practice, improve and develop themselves in practice. The fate of theories is determined by whether they can meet the demands of our times and social practice, and whether they can effectively push forward social progress. Marx said: "To what extent a theory will develop in a country is determined by the extent to which it can satisfy the demands of the country." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 462) He added: "As long as theories can convince people, they can grasp the masses. As long as a theory is complete, it can convince people. So-called completeness means that the theory can grasp the innate character of things." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 460) Grasping the innate character of things means that we should understand the essence of things and master the law of their development. To do so, we need theoretical thinking and study. Engels said: The task of thinking is to discover the stage of its own orderly development through clearing away confusion and to clarify the inherent law of its process of development. What we mean by thinking here is theoretical thinking. He added: "If a nation intends to stand on the highest peak of science, it cannot separate itself from theoretical thinking." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 467) The task of theoretical work which we often mention is to analyze and study practical conditions so that we understand matters and the law of their development. This will guide people in their practical activities of reforming the objective world. Today, one billion people in our country are following the practice of carrying out large-scale socialist modernization. Such practice is the source of theories and a target which theoretical work should serve. If a theory is separated from the practice of the struggle of the masses, which has substantial social and historical contents; if such a theory disregards the study of practical life and fails to provide the masses with answers which they badly need in order to clarify their ideological understanding, and if such a theory fails to implement effectively the guiding principle of integrating theories with practice, and violates the basic requirements of theoretical work, the theory itself will inevitably lose its vigorous vitality, and become withered and dead. Therefore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed: "The Marxist ideological and theoretical work cannot be separated from practical politics. What I mean by politics here refers to the overall situation of the class struggle both at home and abroad, which has direct bearing on the basic interests of the Chinese people and people throughout the world in their practical struggle. If one separates oneself from politics and fails to study the general political situation and to make an appraisal of the practical development of revolutionary struggle, it is inconceivable that one will be able to become a Marxist thinker and theoretician." If one is divorced from the overall political situation and the fiery struggles of the masses, one might possibly become the kind of "connoisseur of curios" Comrade Mao Zedong criticized. This is not what the party's theoretical workers should do. At present, the overall political situation in our country means that people of various nationalities throughout

the country should unite as one and struggle hard to build our country into a highly modernized, highly civilized, and highly democratic socialist power. Of course, this does not mean that it is unnecessary for us to carry out conscientious and in-depth study of the theoretical problems which are not directly connected with the socialist modernization. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Just as with natural sciences, philosophy and social sciences should not neglect the study of basic theories, because such study is indispensable to any great progress of theoretical work. However, the party's theoretical work should center on the socialist modernization and should serve it. We should assign the issue of studying and solving problems occurring in the practice of socialist construction an important and prominent position. Only thus can theoretical work play its proper role in promoting the development of the socialist cause, and theoretical workers fulfill their duties. Only thus can the theories themselves be continuously pushed forward in the new practice.

Actually, such a truth has already been fully proved by the history of the development of Marxist theories and by practical facts. It is unnecessary to cite earlier cases. Let us take the significance of the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to our party's theoretical work as an example. If our party had not been able to face the reality and the masses to conscientiously sum up both the positive and negative experiences of the social practice, and to uphold and improve the party leadership in various aspects such as social contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, socialist economic construction, socialist democratic construction, and the building of socialist spiritual civilization; if it had not been able to reform the economic system, to regard intellectuals as part of the working class, to strengthen united front work, and so forth in the new period; if it had not been able to proceed from the reality of socialist modernization in light of the changes of historical conditions to use the new practical conclusions to replace certain former conclusions which were erroneous and obsolete, to put forth some new theoretical principles, and to make some new theoretical generalizations, could we succeed in ensuring the smooth progress of bringing order out of chaos and in successfully effecting historical changes? Has our party not succeeded in using the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to sum up the experience of socialist practice, and to integrate it with the specific reality of socialist modernization to greatly push forward scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought? Theoretically, we have not only conscientiously and systematically studied and propagated a series of important policies and guiding principles adopted since the third plenary session and the work done by our party since the third plenary session to develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, but have also drawn a useful lesson from the fact that theories should be closely integrated with our socialist practice.

During the period of Yanan rectification, to enable "people engaged in theoretical work to study important practical problems," Comrade Mao Zedong truly checked the tendencies which separated theoretical study work from practice, and gave a popular and scientific explanation of the meaning of theories, theoretical work, and theoreticians. He said: "There is only one kind of true theory in this world, theory that is drawn from objective



reality and then verified by objective reality; nothing else is worthy of the name of theory in our sense." He added: "Marx undertook detailed investigations and studies in the course of practical struggles, formed generalizations, and then verified his conclusions by testing them in practical struggles--this is what we call theoretical work. Our party needs a large number of comrades who will learn how to do such work." He said again: "What kind of theoreticians do we want? We want theoreticians who can, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint, and method, correctly interpret the practical problems arising in the course of history and revolution and give scientific explanations and theoretical elucidations of China's economic, political, military, cultural, and other problems." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") He also criticized those who still regarded odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a readymade panacea. He said that those people had shown childish ignorance. Comrade Mao Zedong's expositions have played an indelible historical role in correcting the orientation of the party's theoretical work, and in encouraging theoretical workers to make important contributions to the cause of the Chinese revolution. Today, we should still firmly bear them in mind because they are still of important practical significance. It is obvious that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ideas on the party's theoretical work in the new period of China's socialist modernization are the application and elaboration of the above-mentioned important theories of Comrade Mao Zedong under the new historical conditions. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has inherited and carried forward the fine traditions of our party's theoretical work. The basic spirit of his ideas is to encourage people to use the basic principles of Marxism to study important practical problems occurring in Chinese revolution and construction, so that the party's theoretical work can serve the cause of the party and people more effectively.

At present, our work of carrying out structural reforms and other reforms of the organization system, the leadership system, and the cadre system is in progress. In the practice of reforms, cadres and masses talk a lot about the matter and have asked many questions. They want us to give them theoretical answers and explanations. We have accumulated a number of experiences in our various work. This has demanded that we theoretically sum up, systematize, and organize them. Modernization is advancing full steam ahead, new situations and new things are emerging one after another. All this requires theoretical analysis and exposition. In addition, various social ideological trends from foreign countries will inevitably be reflected in our country. We should use the Marxist stand, viewpoints, and methods to carry out scientific analysis and appraisal of them. We should theoretically expose and criticize those erroneous and reactionary ideological trends. In a word, while profoundly implementing the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, carrying out reforms, building socialism with Chinese characteristics, developing socialist democracy, and building socialist spiritual civilization, we will encounter many important questions which should be studied systematically and scientifically. Our vigorous socialist practice has called on theoretical workers and people like us to contribute all of our wisdom and ability. Here, it is appropriate to cite Lenin's quotation: We should do everything possible to catch up with the development of things.

We should make a summary, adduce conclusions, and draw lessons from historical experiences so that we can use them in future. Practice is developing rapidly and our theoretical work should respond to its call.

Under the Guidance of the Marxist World Outlook, We Should Give Full Play to the Spirit of Creativity

Apart from being clear about the basic orientation that theoretical work should serve socialist modernization, we should also solve the problem of making theoretical work serve socialist modernization well. The key to this matter lies in our efforts to stick to the Marxist world outlook and methods to analyze new situations, to study new problems, and to uphold the principle of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts in our theoretical work, so that we can give full play to the spirit of creativity.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stressed the importance of the principle of seeking truth from facts, and gave a scientific explanation of it. He said: "Emancipating the mind means that we should use the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to study new situations and to solve new problems." He added: "Emancipating the mind means that our ideology should conform to reality and that subjectivity should accord with objectivity. This is the principle of seeking truth from facts." Therefore, it is wrong and distorts the meaning of emancipating the mind to set the act of emancipating the mind against the practice of upholding the four basic principles, and to cut them apart. It is equally wrong, and distorts the meaning of the emancipation of the mind, if we set the act of emancipating the mind against the principle of seeking truth from facts, and cut them apart. Both historical and practical experiences have shown that to do theoretical work well, we should uphold the Marxist ideological line of the party: we should proceed from reality, integrate theories with practice, seek truth from facts, and test and develop truth in practice. If we separate ourselves from this ideological line, neglect the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, or adopt a dogmatic attitude toward the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we will not be able to sum up historical experience scientifically, to conduct investigations and studies effectively, and to explain correctly new problems arising in the practical struggle of the party and people. Thus theoretical work will not be able to meet the demands of the new period.

In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: To realize the four modernizations, we should uphold the four basic principles. Although this is not a new question, it has a new significance under the present new situation. This should be fully and convincingly proved by the new and changing facts. Such work cannot be completed by simply copying from a certain old book to dish it up in a new form. It is lofty, creative, and scientific work which can only be completed by a revolutionary thinker who has expended all his energies. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions are of great guiding significance in creating a new situation in theoretical work during the new period. The great practice of socialist modernization has posed a series of important theoretical problems for us. In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping touched upon a great number of economic theoretical problems,

including basic theoretical problems, industrial theoretical problems, agricultural theoretical problems, commercial theoretical problems, management theoretical problems, and so forth. In the meantime, we should also study the subjects of politics, law, sociology, and world politics. Our study should be based on social practice and a large quantity of accurate data. We should be painstaking with our creative study. Only thus can our study cover a lot of ground and be imbued with new ideology and new language. Only thus can we acquire new knowledge and achieve results of scientific value. Lenin was correct in saying: "If we fail to study hard and to think things out for ourselves, we will not be able to find out the truth while trying to solve serious problems. If one fails to exert one's efforts, one will not be able to seek the truth." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 136) We will never succeed in developing theories if we are simply trying to cull phrases and to repeat what other people have said and the truth which is already known to all. We need a spirit of creativity and should persist in probing into the essence of things. We need courage to develop our theories. We should be bold in putting forth new ideas and viewpoints.

Of course, such creativity and exploration should not deviate from the scientific path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Social phenomenon are everchanging and complicated. Our socialist modernization is without parallel in history. New situations and new problems are emerging one after another. Only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can provide us with the only correct world outlook and methodology so that we can observe, analyze, and solve these problems. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is never a "convention" which hampers our theoretical study and creativity. On the contrary, it is a telescope and scalpel which are indispensable for our scientific creativity and theoretical study. It will effectively guarantee that our theoretical work will keep in line with the correct line, guiding principles, and policies of the CPC Central Committee, avoid going astray, and achieve good results. Therefore, we should correct erroneous ideas which set the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought against our theoretical study and creativity, and cut them apart. In our theoretical work, we should uphold the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and regard such a guiding role as an indispensable condition for enriching and developing our theories, so that our theoretical work is full of life and vitality. In the meantime, we should abandon the attitude which refuses to study new situations and new problems and adopts a rigid and dogmatic attitude toward Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Only thus can we ensure that our theoretical work will vigorously develop along a correct orientation, and make outstanding contributions to the socialist modernization.

#### We Should Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend in Order to Develop Our Theories

To adhere to the basic orientation of effectively making theoretical work serve socialist modernization, we should create a good atmosphere and conditions for the development and study of theories. Here, the most important work for us to do is to uphold socialist democratic principles in the academic and theoretical fields and to implement correctly the "double

hundred" policy. We should conscientiously carry out theoretical discussion, let a hundred schools of thought contend, and encourage theoretical criticism.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Whatever happens, we should study and discuss ideological and theoretical problems. We should resolutely implement the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. We should resolutely implement the guiding principle of 'three-nots,' that is, nobody is allowed to seize hold of the mistakes of other people, to arbitrarily pin political labels on them, or to wield the big stick. We should resolutely implement the guiding principle of emancipating the mind, doing away with superstitions, and proceeding from reality. All this has been decided by the third plenary session. Now, I would like to reiterate: We should on no account waver in our determination." The "double hundred" policy has decided that to promote the development of socialist scientific and cultural undertakings, we should adopt the methods of democratic discussion and free competition. This is our party's long-term and fundamental policy for developing socialist scientific and cultural undertakings (including theoretical work). Of course, this is not and cannot be regarded as our party's only policy for ideological work. Our party has worked out other policies for ideological work: all ideological work should serve the people and socialism; we should seek truth from facts and proceed from reality; we should integrate theories with practice; we should assign Marxism a leading position in the field of social and political ideology, and so forth. In his article "Several Problems on the Current Ideological Front," Comrade Hu Qiaomu profoundly and comprehensively discusses and explains this subject. Since the third plenary session, our party has resolutely implemented the "double hundred" policy in the theoretical work. It has pointed out that we should not distort the "double hundred" policy and regard it as a policy of bourgeois liberalization. The necessity of conscientiously implementing the "double hundred" policy is stated in the documents of the party and speeches of the party leaders. When our party is judging the rights and wrongs of certain theoretical issues, it also implements the "double hundred" policy. However, this does not mean that there is no problem or mistake at all in our comrades' understanding and in specific acts concerning the "double hundred" policy which should be overcome and solved. Very often we hear divergent opinions on theoretical discussion and criticism. This has reflected the problem.

We do not negate in principle the necessity of carrying out theoretical criticism and counter criticism. However, some people do not tolerate any criticism. Once divergent views on theories occur, or once theoretical criticism is carried out, some comrades wrongly think that this is tantamount to wielding a big stick. Such an idea has not yet vanished in people's minds. The CPC Central Committee has repeatedly stressed that with regard to erroneous works and views, we should discuss and criticize them. However, the discussion and criticism should be truly carried out in a comradely, reasonable, appropriate, and convincing way. Counter criticism should be allowed. If we can do so, it means our criticism is correct and does not violate the principle of "three-nots." Criticism should suit the concrete, the actual circumstances and be conducted in a scientific and correct way. Such criticism should be helpful to deepening and developing our understanding.



It is a kind of investigation, theoretical analysis, and creative labor. A scientific theory always comes from repeated practice and the process of understanding things. When people are trying to acquire knowledge, they always go through a process from knowing less to knowing more completely from and accumulation of less to accumulation of more knowledge. In such a process, they work tirelessly to seek truth and to correct their mistakes resolutely. The Marxist scientific theory on cognition has explained to us such a dialectical process of cognition. This has also been proved by the entire history of the cognition of mankind. Therefore, those thinkers and theoreticians who can accomplish something great, who have foresight and sagacity, and who are free from any prejudice and can refrain from adhering stubbornly to their own opinions, are always able to consider seriously divergent views aired by other people in discussions, or during the time when mutual criticism is carried out. In so doing, they can correct their one-sided views and further elevate their ideas. The drive to implement the "double hundred" policy and to promote socialist democracy is progressing amid criticism and self-criticism. This is a dialectic movement of cognition. It is our unshirkable duty to carry out theoretical discussion and criticism in order to implement the "double hundred" policy and to promote socialist democracy in the theoretical field. Of course, just like other criticisms, mutual criticisms in the theoretical field should be based on conscientious investigation and study, and on fully grasping the situation. We should adhere to the practice of setting forth the facts and discussing them rationally.

Facts have repeatedly told us that a lively atmosphere, heated discussions, sincere criticism, and beneficial discussions are necessary conditions for developing theories. The party and people have created such conditions for us. Our theoretical workers should value and make use of such conditions. Only thus can they vigorously carry out their theoretical work and push it forward continuously.

In conclusion, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The great future of the realization of the four modernizations has stirred, encouraged, and guided the whole party, the entire army, and people of various nationalities throughout the country. The broad masses of cadres and people vie with one another to do their bit for this bright future. In this period, people on the ideological and theoretical front shoulder particularly important tasks." He hoped that the party's ideological and theoretical workers would further enhance their understanding of the situation, tasks, the party's guiding principles and policies, and their work, and that they would rally closely around the CPC Central Committee and work effectively to encourage people of various nationalities throughout the country to rally closely around the CPC. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech was delivered more than 4 years ago. When we reread it today, we still feel that it is an earnest and beneficial speech. At present, the practice of socialist modernization has opened up a new field for enriching and developing our theories. We are now in a period in which much can be accomplished in our theoretical work. Marx said: "The formation of theoretical concepts should be based on a large quantity of accumulated practical experience." ("Das

Kapital," Vol 1, p 404) Great practice and a wealth of experience will certainly give rise to great theories and scientific works. Let us conscientiously study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thesis to further enhance our consciousness for serving socialist modernization and our sense of responsibility for the society. We should meet the demands of our times and never let the party and people down.

CSO: 4005/1022

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO ON PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

HK251011 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by the Compilation and Writing Group of the Scientific Socialist Teaching and Research Center of the Central Party School: "The Class Content and Historical Task of Proletarian Dictatorship"]

[Text] The class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is bound to lead to proletarian dictatorship.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is established after the complete destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and is a state with new-type democracy and dictatorship which is based on the alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class. The leading role of the proletariat is realized through its own vanguard--the Communist Party. Alliance of workers and peasants is the class foundation of proletarian dictatorship. Only when the proletariat forms an alliance with the numerous non-proletarian working people of all social strata and in particular, forms a solid alliance with the peasantry, can it retain its leading role and its political power. As Lenin said: Maintenance of the alliance of workers and peasants is the "supreme principle" of the proletarian dictatorship. ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 477) The nature and characteristics of proletarian dictatorship are democracy and dictatorship of a new type. Fundamentally different from the dictatorship of the exploiting classes under which the overwhelming majority of people suffer exploitation, the dictatorship of the proletariat exercises extensive democracy among the broad masses of people and exercises dictatorship over a tiny number of people, that is, the reactionary classes, reactionaries, and elements in opposition to socialist remoulding and socialist construction. Proletarian dictatorship means the dialectical unity of democracy among the people and dictatorship over the enemy. Setting the two against each other and one-sidedly stressing dictatorship to the neglect of democracy or one-sidedly stressing democracy to the neglect of dictatorship can mean a distortion to the proletarian dictatorship and will in practice lead the proletarian dictatorship to degeneration.

Compared with the previous dictatorship of the exploiting classes, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only completely contradictory in its class nature but also fundamentally different in its task and objective.

In his book entitled "The Class Struggle in France," Marx pointed out: The dictatorship of the proletariat "is the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 479-480) This indicates that the historical task of proletarian dictatorship is to fundamentally transform the old relations of production and superstructure including the economic, political, ideological, and cultural spheres so as to abolish class distinctions generally and enter a classless society.

In accordance with the expositions of revolutionary teachers and the experience in the practice of socialism, the historical task of proletarian dictatorship includes the following six aspects: Suppressing the resistance of the overthrown reactionary classes and striking hard blows at all kinds of criminal offenders to safeguard the fruit of revolution and construction; appropriating the appropriators, carrying out socialist transformation of the means of production, and instituting and developing the socialist public ownership system; organizing the building of the socialist economy and culture, developing the social productive forces as soon as possible, and wiping out the material conditions on which classes rely on existence; conducting publicity and education work in communist ideology and developing the new-type social relations which embody the socialist spiritual civilization; absorbing the masses of people to participate in managing the state and production and developing and refining the socialist democratic system and democratic life so as to institutionalize and legalize socialist democracy; and guarding against aggression and subversion by external enemies, supporting the revolutionary struggles of the people of the various countries in the world, and promoting the development and victory of world revolution.

Proletarian dictatorship is an instrument of class struggle. In different historical stages and with the changes in the situation of class relations and class struggle, the focus of the work of proletarian dictatorship also varies considerably. Generally speaking, in the initial stage of the seizure of state power by the proletariat, appropriating the appropriators and suppressing their resistance constitute its main task. When this task is basically completed, the building of the socialist economic system which is far superior to the capitalist one and the improvement of labor productivity should be placed on a primary position as a fundamental task. After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the means of production and the abolition of classes, the main task of a state under proletarian dictatorship is to carry out the socialist construction with economic construction as the center, and to increase the overall magnitude of the social productive forces as quickly as possible.

Owing to the different historical conditions in which every specific country conducts socialist changes, proletarian dictatorship bears a great diversity of forms. In China, the state power, which was developed from the people's regime of the people in base areas during the new democratic revolution period, is a form of proletarian dictatorship.



Although the people's democratic dictatorship of the base areas contained some socialist factors, seen from its class content and historical task, it belonged, generally speaking, to the political power of a new democratic nature. The founding of the PRC in 1949 marked the beginning of the change of our country from new democracy to socialism. On the one hand, the people's democratic dictatorship during the transition period was still the combined dictatorship of the various democratic classes under which a section of the representative figures of the national bourgeoisie were invited to participate in the state power which continued fulfilling the tasks left over from the stage of democratic revolution, of which the main task was to complete the antifeudal agrarian reform on a nationwide scale. On the other hand, the people's republic was led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Wielding its own state power, the working class confiscated bureaucratic capital and put it under the socialist system of ownership by the whole people. This went beyond the scope of democratic revolution in economic terms. After completing the tasks left over from democratic revolution, the people's democratic dictatorship again undertook the historical tasks of realizing the state's socialist industrialization, of conducting the socialist transformation of the capitalist private ownership system and the small-production private ownership system, of establishing the socialist economic system, and of abolishing the system of exploitation. All this was work of a socialist nature. It can thus be seen that the people's democratic dictatorship during the transition period was based on the combination of new democratic principles and socialist principles but based mainly on socialist principles. It led society in developing to the orientation of socialism in accordance with the will and interests of the working class. It was therefore of a proletarian dictatorship nature.

During the stage of socialism, profound changes have taken place in the social and political relations in our country. The people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance has a more extensive social foundation. It undertakes new and more arduous tasks, the main one of which is to carry out the socialist modernization program, which means that, while building a high level of material civilization, it is necessary to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and to attain a high level of socialist democracy, and it is necessary to create conditions for gradually minimizing and eventually abolishing class distinctions and for advancing to communism in the future. Therefore, the people's democratic dictatorship at the present stage is entirely based on socialist principles.

The system of people's democratic dictatorship is the concrete application of the theory of proletarian dictatorship in China and hence it bears distinctively Chinese characteristics. In the present stage, there are the alliance between socialist laborers and the alliance of socialist laborers and patriots who support socialism and the unification of the motherland. This is a characteristic of the system of people's democratic dictatorship. There is still multiparty cooperation between the CPC and various democratic parties within the people's democratic dictatorship. This is another characteristic of the system of people's democratic dictatorship. These

characteristics show that China's people's democratic dictatorship has the most extensive democracy and only exercises dictatorship over a tiny section of the forces which are hostile to, and oppose, socialism. Therefore, the people's democratic dictatorship is all the more suited to China's national condition. At present, the task confronting the whole party and the people of the whole nation is, in the light of the new developments of the new historical period, to better uphold the people's democratic dictatorship and to strive to fulfill the basic tasks of the people's democratic dictatorship in the new period.

CSO: 4005/1022

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### EDUCATION MINISTER ON COMPULSORY EDUCATION

HK220803 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 83 p 3

[Text] At the national work conference on popularizing education, Education Minister He Dongchang said: In order to popularize elementary education, it is necessary to make elementary education compulsory, and this must be effected and guaranteed through educational legislation. This is a common experience of many countries in the world. The necessity of popularizing compulsory elementary education has been prescribed by the new constitution, and this shows that our country has begun to guarantee the popularization of education in a legal form. Recently, Comrade Peng Zhen reiterated at the closing meeting of the first session of the Sixth NPC that the enforcement of compulsory elementary education means that parents (or guardians) have a legal duty to send their children (or the youngsters under their protection) to receive elementary education and that the state and the relevant quarters in society have a duty to open schools and adopt economic and social measures to ensure that school-age children can attend schools nearby and can complete their elementary education. In order to conduct compulsory education in such a country as ours, which has a large population and is not developed enough economically, we need to seek specific methods which are suited to our country's conditions. For example, we should continue to "walk on two legs" and to combine variety and uniformity, and should offer free education step by step in a planned way. Free education can be offered according to the conditions of various localities, with some places doing so earlier, and the range of free education can then be expanded step by step. Recently, some local party committees and governments have adopted resolutions and measures for enforcing compulsory elementary education and have created new experience under the new situation. For example, they have formulated joint pledges by villagers for ensuring education, have founded a fund for popularizing elementary education, exempting pupils from paying school fees and sundry expenses and have stipulated that young people who have not completed their elementary education cannot be appointed as commune and brigade cadres, cannot be received into local enterprises and institutions as workers, and cannot join the army. All localities should earnestly sum up and spread the experience in this regard. We have drawn up the draft of the "PRC law for popularizing compulsory elementary education" through repeated discussions and revisions, and are prepared to submit it to the NPC Standing Committee for deliberation and promulgation.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HE DONGCHANG ADDRESSES EDUCATION MEETING

OW261644 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 26 Jul 83

[Text] Beijing, 26 Jul (XINHUA)--China's goal of popularizing primary education by 1990 will be "hard but possible," according to Minister of Education He Dongchang.

Statistics last autumn show that 93 percent of children age 7-11 go to primary school, the minister said at the current National General Education Conference that opened 18 July. The popularization goal set by the ministry means an enrollment rate exceeding 95 percent and a graduation rate of 80 to 95 percent. Future efforts will be focused on the countryside, where 80 percent of the country's population live.

East China's Zhejiang Province is taking the lead. Beginning 1973, the province has been sending 95 percent of its school-age children to school. It has a steady enrollment rate of 97 percent in the 1980's, and popularized primary education in over 60 percent of its rural counties.

In addition to regular 5 and 6 year schools in rural areas, according to a circular by the Communist Party Central Committee and the State Council on 6 May, some schools will offer only Chinese language and arithmetic courses, others will be half-day or alternate day schools. Since most of China's 55 minority nationalities are scattered in remote, sparsely populated border areas, more boarding schools will be opened.

To reduce the dropout rate as more children help their parents, two suburban counties in Shanghai have decided that rural enterprises should employ only those with at least a junior-high school education.

Fujian Province's rural schools have adopted a flexible timetable giving pupils more time for helping their parents during busy farming seasons.

The provincial authorities of Yunnan, a southwest mountainous border province, each year will allocate 4 million yuan for 40 boarding schools for children of the minority nationalities who account for 31.7 percent of the total population.

The central government has greatly increased investment in education and has also encouraged local governments, enterprises and individuals to collect funds to run schools.

Fujian last year decided to increase investment in education above the rate for economic development. The province's educational funds will rise annually by 6 percent for 5 years running.

Within a few months, the communes and villages in the province responded by raising 2 million additional yuan for schools.

Overseas Chinese of Fujian origin have donated 10 million yuan annually for schools in their native places for several years running.

CSO: 4000/204



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO URGES RESPECT FOR INTELLECTUALS

HK260715 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jul 83 p 2

[Article by Song Jian [1345 0236]: "The Carriers of Science and Technology and the Modernization Drive--Notes on Reading 'Respecting Knowledge, Respecting Talent'"]

[Text] When our country began entering a great turning point in history, Comrade Xiaoping clearly pointed out: "We must create an atmosphere within the party such that respect will be shown for knowledge and talent. We must oppose the erroneous idea of showing no respect for intellectuals." "To realize modernization, the main thing is that science and technology must catch up." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 37, 38) This is really an extremely important national policy bearing on the future of the state, national prosperity, and the matter of whether modernization can be smoothly realized. Science and technology is one of the sources of modern material and spiritual civilization. Today, everyone can experience the convenience that it brings, to a large or small degree. But not everyone can spell out its origin. Everyone is sharing the benefits of science and technology. But not everyone can see its existence and clearly recognize its great role in socialist modernization.

Science and technology is an abstract concept on the limits of man's knowledge. Yet in real life, there is no area where we do not feel its existence.

First, modern factories, mines, transportation, appliances, equipment, sanitary facilities, amenities in social life, and so forth are all embodiments of science and technology, or science and technology in material form. The design of every modern facility embodies profound theories about mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry and other fundamental sciences. In the process of creation and manufacture, new technological principles and production skills are again introduced. The more advanced the equipment and the appliances, and the more modern the amenities in life, the more comprehensive and complicated are the scientific theory, technology, and skills required. All the more science and technology in material form is also embodied.

Second, what is recorded in scientific books, magazines and various kinds of literature, and the works written in various languages of the world, are historical files on science and technology and records of its involvement in social life. The libraries, museums, and reference rooms that collect these scientific works are permanent repositories of science and technology. Here, you can study its birth and its process of growth and find out how it has grown to be so powerful and great today.

The final but most important aspect is to awaken science and technology embodied in factory and mining equipment and amenities in material form, to really serve production and life in society. No matter how sophisticated, machinery and equipment created by our predecessors are no more than scrap if not mastered and put to use. If something more advanced is to be designed or produced, any designer or producer must be more brilliant than our predecessors and grasp more scientific and technical knowledge than our predecessors. Literature and data hidden in stacks of books or put on display in reading rooms must be studied, mastered, and applied. Only in this way can they be turned into a lively force and into wealth useful to society and a force stimulating social progress.

Given an adequate knowledge of scientific theory and special training or actual experience, people can summon already materialized knowledge to do good for society and can use various languages to study and assimilate works on science and technology, apply them to create new wealth for society, and push science and technology to still higher levels exceeding those achieved by our predecessors. Such people we now call scientific and technical personnel, or intellectuals, in general terms.

Therefore, the intellectuals fighting on various socialist fronts are living carriers of science and technology.

Science and technology is the sum and abstraction of a long period of experience accumulated by mankind in the process of understanding and transforming the natural world. It arises and grows with the development of human wisdom and the progress of work skills. Therefore, it is a historical product of human progress. Only after more than 300 years of history has modern science and technology reached today's perfection. As far as television techniques taken for granted by us today are concerned, starting from the discovery of electricity, how many generations have fought, one after another! Before the mastery of the design and production of television sets, people have gone through more than 200 years of exploration, discovery, invention and practice. People of today are at last enabled to enjoy such material civilization. They see right before their eyes major events in the world every day and enjoy the beauty of modern arts of various kinds during their idle hours. That television set before them is nothing but a history museum demonstrating the process of scientific and technological progress.

In order to achieve sustained social progress in the direction of modernization, science and technology must be passed on to our descendants. Today's science and technology, according to statistics, cover more than 500 kinds

of basic sciences and over 400 scientific and technical areas. The total number of subjects of study exceed more than 2,000. New subjects of study are also being continuously produced. Given man's short life span and physical limitations, not a single man or several persons alone can carry on just the main part of all the knowledge left by predecessors. Only with skilled personnel in their millions tackling different jobs can such knowledge be covered in its totality. To train such a large number of skilled personnel for the next generation, we must maintain and develop the socialized education system. Those responsible for such a historical mission are scientific and technical personnel, including professors, experts and all intellectuals fighting on the forefront of scientific research and production. They must write works for those to come, prepare lectures as sources of their guidance, guide young people in gaining actual experiences, help them in scaling new heights, and create conditions enabling the latter to surpass themselves. This is a duty and an obligation they must discharge toward the motherland, toward the nation, and toward their descendants. In the process of modernization, the workers, peasants, and all laboring people urgently need science and technology. Another lofty duty of scientific and technical personnel and all intellectuals is to bring scientific and technological knowledge to the laboring people, enabling more and more people to directly master and apply it, and gradually enabling every worker to enjoy the common wealth of mankind.

We must carry on the wisdom accumulated by our predecessors and activate it to serve modernization, discarding what is outdated, enriching it with new knowledge, disseminating it among people and passing it on to our descendants. This is a historical mission of intellectuals. They are today advancing exactly along this road.

Science and technology is a product of the wisdom of all mankind and the progress of work skills. In the socialist society with the public ownership of the means of production, it is naturally the common wealth of the whole society. It belongs to the whole people. However, the unfairness of human history has left us with a deplorable situation that cannot be straightened out within a short period of time. Though everyone has the right to enjoy what is bestowed by science and technology, not every member of society has the ability or the necessary qualifications to wield it skillfully, develop it and apply it creatively. To overcome this historical drawback is our very ideal and object of struggle. This can be accomplished only after many generations of effort. Those who now have the good fortune of possessing such an ability represent only a portion of the laboring people. This portion is made up of intellectuals, or what we call scientific and technical personnel. They are carriers of science and technology and represent the bridge and pacesetter in a march on science and technology staged by the whole society. They mix with the laboring people. Along with the workers and peasants, they are the creators of social material wealth and constitute an important part of the working class. Only given such integration, can science and technology be transformed into a tremendous force in social progress.

People are in the habit of defining intellectuals as "mental workers with a given knowledge of culture and science." (See "Cihai") Even those who are barely acquainted with them are likely to feel that such a definition is too hackneyed and calls for a revision. It is hardly applicable to the scientific and technical personnel of today. Modern science and technology has gradually permeated through all productive labor and has become merged with social life almost as an inseparable entity. Scientific and technological activities that involve not the least physical strength are rare. Even pure scientific research work that is not integrated with physical work is also extremely limited.

As part of the category of intellectuals, scientific and technical personnel are creators of material wealth. They are worthy members of the working class. Their work embodies unified mental and physical work. Here, there is no conflict between mental and physical work. In the process of modernization, we must energetically develop and widely apply science and technology, and train from among the laboring people an increasingly large number of technical personnel, so that science and technology can be merged with productive labor as a single entity. This is perhaps the road to the elimination of the differences between mental and physical work.

The intellectuals of our country, including scientific and technical personnel, are a reliable force among members of the working class. They have come from among the people and have grown up under the training of the laboring people, living and working among the laboring people and mixing with them as one. They rejoice with the people in times of victory and receive warmth and comfort from the laboring people in adversity. Everywhere, at cadres schools, at workshops, on the farms and at worksites, they receive love and care from the laboring people. At a time when they were humiliated and in pain, they remained unshaken in their convictions and did not lose heart. They were sure that the knowledge they possessed was a historical product of human wisdom and labor and was the wealth of the whole people. Divorced from social productive labor and the people's life, scientific and technical knowledge and its carriers themselves would lose the meaning of existence. They bore firmly in mind Marx' motto: "Science is by no means a self-serving object of enjoyment. Those people who have the good fortune to be dedicated to scientific research should first of all devote their own knowledge to serving the people." ("Talks on Education by Marx and Engels," p 360) Peng Jiamu, Luan Fu, Jiang Zhuying, Luo Jianfu, Lei Yushun, Sun Yefang and other comrades were their representatives and symbols.

Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has spelled out, in a correct and overall manner, the progressive role of science and technology in society and defined the intellectuals' role in the modernization of the country. This is a great turnaround in the contemporary history of the Chinese nation, and worthy of celebration. Lessons in the history of the development of mankind should be borne in mind: Every time the social means of production and the way of life needed to be changed, those nations that were unwilling to accept such a change and followed the beaten track could not hold their own among the

nations of the world. Those nations incapable of adjusting from hunting to animal husbandry, or from wild fruit gathering to farming mostly perished long ago. Those nations that failed to catch up with the pace of industrial revolution were compelled to suffer a long period of backwardness and the pain of being invaded. Today, we are in the midst of a change toward the modern means of production and way of life. Building a high degree of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization is the great objective of this change. Under the socialist system, whether such a change can be completed will depend on "general scientific levels and technical progress, or the application of science in production." (Marx: "The (Draft) Outline of the Critique of Political Economy") All those people who support modernization and are determined to fight for modernization should understand that without flourishing and widely applicable science and technology, we just cannot talk about the modernization of agriculture, industry, and national defense. The needs of revolutionary struggle determine the feelings of revolutionaries. We must respect science and technology, welcome science and technology, and strive to acquire scientific and technical knowledge. To respect, support, and care for the carriers of science and technology is the minimum of consciousness that should be displayed by every revolutionary today.

Our revolutionary cause is undergoing a great historical change and entering a new historical period. Science, technology, and culture which are an indispensable weapon with which to complete the tasks of the new period, were also once one of the fundamental starting points for the scientific socialist theory created by Marx and Engels. We should understand that to despise science and technology and discriminate against its carriers--the intellectuals--is to underestimate our own abilities, insult human intelligence, violate the dignity of human civilization, and impair the immediate and long-term interests of the working class and the Chinese nation, and is an act running completely counter to fundamental Marxist principles.

CSO: 4005/1022



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO DISCUSSES 'SPIRITUAL PRODUCTION'

HK261113 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Zhang Yide [1728 5030 1795]: "Spiritual Production Must Not Depart From Its Own Basic Goal"]

[Text] In the "Government Work Report" which Premier Zhao Ziyang submitted to the first session of the Sixth NPC, he pointed out: Simultaneously with continuing to overcome the "leftist" errors, we must sufficiently warn against, and take note of, the trend of certain spiritual production becoming completely commercialized, without regard to social effects. Such a trend has become evident and has had evil effects. We must take effective steps to rectify it. Hence, there are certain problems which necessitate a thorough theoretical discussion. These problems are: In what respects is socialist spiritual production different in nature from capitalist spiritual production? What is the purpose of socialist spiritual production? How is it possible to improve the quality of spiritual products?

#### The Nature of Spiritual Production Under Socialism Is Basically Different From That Under Capitalism

In discussing the relationship between material production and spiritual production, Marx pointed out: "Material production of a definite form produces: 1) a definite social structure; and 2) definite relations between human beings and nature. These two factors determine the system of government of human beings and their spiritual form. As a result, they also determine the nature of the spiritual production of human beings." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26 (Part 1) p 296) But the nature of spiritual production is manifested not only in the contents reflected in the spiritual products but also in the purpose of spiritual production. The purpose of spiritual production is basically different under different social systems. For example, under the capitalist system, people handling spiritual products do their utmost to make the products of spiritual production serve their purpose of seeking profits and in this way bring about the universal commercialization of spiritual products. Under the socialist system, the production of spiritual products must serve the purpose of meeting the needs of the spiritual life of the people as a whole. This is an important mark of distinction between the nature of socialist spiritual production and that of capitalist spiritual production.

The circulation of spiritual products as commercial goods had not been a universal phenomenon prior to the coming into being of the capitalist society. At that time, people frequently presented spiritual products to each other as gifts. True, at the time, although there were artists selling articles of art and scholars peddling their literary works, yet, strictly speaking, this could not be taken as bartering of articles of commerce. Only when we come to a capitalist society, following the commercialization of material products, are spiritual products gradually commercialized. According to an analysis made by Marx, two types of conditions apply to the commercialization of spiritual products, namely: 1) "The results of production are commodities or commercial goods, possessing use value, such as books, pictures, and articles of art divested of the actual artistic activities of the artists and existing separately;" and 2) "the products cannot be separated from the production process, such as conditions applying to artists, orators, actors, teachers, doctors, clergymen, and so forth." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26 (I), p 442) The phenomenon of the commercialization of spiritual products under the capitalist system does not emerge from spiritual production's own laws but is forced on spiritual production by an exterior force. Hence, it is in contradiction of, and in conflict with, the laws of spiritual production. Capitalist society has also turned out certain solemn, austere, and good-quality spiritual products, but commercialization of spiritual products, though to a certain extent stimulating the development of spiritual production (particularly in the quantitative sense), does not, in the final analysis, promote, but impedes the development of spiritual production.

First, producers of those handling spiritual products (book dealers, publishers, and so forth) generally have the sole objective of seeking profits. For the sake of making money, many spiritual production departments have unscrupulously turned out various kinds of low-class, vulgar, corrupt, and reactionary spiritual products to poison and corrupt people's spiritual world. Marx said: "The nature of the capitalist class, and the condition for their survival, is fabrication of all commodities." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 16, p 573) In the realm of spiritual production, they may also produce fake artistic articles and false scientific products, sell them in the market, and thereby convert "art for art's sake" to "art for money's sake" (words of Plekhanov). Following the universal commercialization of products, the final stage will be that "morality, love, belief, knowledge, and conscience become the objects of buying and selling." This will be the stage "when all spiritual or material articles have become values of exchange and their true evaluation may best be found in the markets." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 79-80) Under such conditions, the eruption of a spiritual crisis can hardly be avoided.

Second, the commercialization of spiritual products reduces the status of a spiritual producer to that of a hired worker, an intolerable and shameful position. The toil and products of spiritual producers will thus not be evaluated on the basis of their own spiritual significance. Rather, they are subjected to the proprietor's ulterior motive to get rich and to his exploitation. For example, "writers become production workers not because they turn out thoughts or ideas but because they bring wealth to the

publishers who publish their works; in other words, they are productive only when they become the hired workers of a particular capitalist." (Ibid, Vol 26 (I), p 149) Hence, in a capitalist society, "the so-called highest forms of labor, namely mental work, art and literary production, and so on, have become the objects of barter and in this way have lost their past honor or glory. And the entire body of clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and so forth, and, in turn, religion, law, and so on, are subjected to evaluation according to their commercial value." (Ibid, Vol 6, pp 650-651) This hinders spiritual producers from creating spiritual products in accordance with the laws of spiritual production itself.

In a socialist society, although the majority of spiritual and material products alike are subjected to circulation in the form of commodities, yet, because of the establishment of the public ownership system, spiritual producers are no longer hired workers but have been liberated from their former intolerable and shameful status under capitalism and have become masters of society. Circulation of spiritual products in the form of commodities becomes a form of the exchange of labor between producers of spiritual products and producers of material products and is no longer a tactic employed by capitalists to seek profits. The value of spiritual products is no longer measured by the wealth-seeking ulterior motive of capitalists but is determined by their social effects. In this way, spiritual producers in a socialist society may follow spiritual production's own laws in the creation of spiritual products to serve socialism and to serve the people. Therefore, in a socialist society, the circulation of spiritual products in the form of commodities is categorically different from the commercialization of spiritual products.

#### The Purpose of Socialist Spiritual Production Is Satisfaction of People's Needs in Their Spiritual Life and Elevation of People's Spiritual Plane

Under a socialist system, efforts are made not only to improve continuously the people's material life on the foundation of production development but also to enrich continuously the spiritual life of the people. Take our country's condition for example. Following the initial solving of the problem of food and clothing, problems of spiritual hunger in certain respects have become increasingly outstanding. Concerning such problems, our spiritual production departments and producers should, starting with investigation and research, solve them in a planned manner, in this way enabling our spiritual production to cope appropriately with the growing needs of the people's spiritual life.

The needs of spiritual life embody many factors and many layers. The needs of the spiritual life of human beings are many-sided. They include not only the desire for knowledge, appreciation of the beautiful, and rest and recreation after work, but also the search for social ideas, for moral concepts, and so on. Different people have different desires--high or low, deep or shallow, artistic or vulgar. The needs or desires of people's spiritual life suffer restriction not only from the social system but also from historical tradition and from likes and customs. Naturally, our spiritual production should absorb good things from outside, but, to be divorced from

our national tradition and special features and to follow blindly and even to copy entirely things in foreign countries cannot satisfy the needs of people of our country.

Socialist spiritual production must not only satisfy the various needs of spiritual life but must also endeavor to raise the level of social spiritual life, that is to say, raise the level in theory and thought of the entire people, their social morality level and spiritual environment, as well as their appreciation of beauty. Hence, while spiritual products must be developed quantitatively, we must pay due attention to improving the quality of the spiritual products. Our spiritual products should embody ideological contents which are patriotic, revolutionary, and healthy. They should be able to provide people with genuine enjoyment of beauty and the strength to strive for a higher plane of life. This will encourage people to overcome errors with truth, to subdue superstition with science, to replace regression with progress, to demolish conservatism with renovation, to replace vulgar things with high-class articles, to overcome ugliness with beauty, and so on. Liang Qichao, a reformist thinker of the capitalist class, once said:

"Literature is the loftiest interest of human beings." "Nevertheless, if nobody promotes it to the highest respectable road, it will surely wither and degenerate and become poison to society. For example, love between the sexes is something that cannot be subdued. Its essential nature is good but, if it is not led onto a respectable road, it may eventually fall into a wayward path." ("Yin Bing Shi Wen Ji," Vol 39) Our world outlook is different from that of Liang Qichao and our interpretation of what is respectable may differ from his. However, what he advocated about respectability and paying due attention to the social effects of literary products is reasonable to a certain degree. In particular, our socialist spiritual production should pay due regard to the social effects of spiritual products, and this should include the effects on thought, on understanding, and on appreciation of beauty. This is determined by the purpose of socialist spiritual production.

Since commodity production is still found in socialist society and the majority of spiritual products also assume the form of commodities in circulation, many of the departments handling socialist spiritual products have to do business accounting and watch economic results. For instance, publishers must enlarge the circulation of their books or magazines while people in the theater and cinema businesses must watch the attendance rate of their shows. However, this should not be the fundamental objective of spiritual production. The basic objective of spiritual production is to satisfy people's spiritual needs and to elevate the spiritual plane of the people. Therefore, no production of spiritual products should divorce itself from its own basic objective and become completely commercialized. The type of tendency which pays no regard to the social results of the spiritual products and "looks solely in the direction of moneymaking" hardly conforms to the objective of socialist spiritual production. Although such a tendency is a minor phenomenon in our country, it has already produced many evil effects on the spiritual life of society. It should attract our attention and be rectified.

The restructuring process that is now in progress in spiritual production is extremely necessary and is also successful, particularly in rectifying such symptoms as the undue expansion of organization structure, overstaffing, failure to make the best use of talents, and "everybody eating from the same big pot," and in stirring up the enthusiasm of the vast masses of spiritual producers. Unfortunately, in certain localities and departments, failure to pay due regard to spiritual production's objective and the special laws governing it has helped to generate a tendency for certain spiritual products not to care for social effects and to become blindly commercialized. For example, the leadership in certain localities and departments has explained restructuring as being due to the state's not having given enough subsidies to the cultural enterprises, while certain enterprise units have explained it as a measure to make more money. For the sake of making more money, in certain localities, many spiritual products have been manufactured in a rough and slipshod way, without any regard to quality requirements. Some localities have gone so far as to once more perform works which had long been discarded or to allow them to be republished. In reality, vulgar, fantastic, or absurd spiritual products may coincide with the low-taste interests of certain individuals fool the public, and in this way make some money, but this can never last long and, in the end, will be discarded by society. Speaking from the angle of the responsibility system, economic targets alone will not suffice. What is more important is that there must be targets concerning the quality of the spiritual products and their social effects. To place responsibility to society of spiritual workers first and foremost is the only true manifestation of the responsibility system. We must demarcate between material production and spiritual production. In material production and in the realm of its circulation, for the sake of enlivening the economy, it is doubtless necessary to develop vigorously the production and exchange of commodities, but this method in the economic sector cannot be blindly, or in a simple manner, transferred as a whole to the spiritual production sector. In particular, we simply cannot disregard the social effects of the spiritual products and make them completely commercialized. Only by constantly bearing in mind the objective of socialist spiritual production and by noting the special laws governing spiritual production can we ensure that restructuring in the spiritual production sector will progress in the proper direction.

#### Strengthening the Self-Cultivation of Spiritual Producers and Raising the Quality of Spiritual Products

The level, scope, and speed of construction of socialist spiritual civilization and the good or bad quality of spiritual products depend to a definite extent on the state of the spiritual environment of the intelligent elements taking part in spiritual production and on the degree of their cultural and moral cultivation. Hence, the self-cultivation of spiritual producers is extremely important. Scholars in the olden times in our country used to theorize that talents in literature and history must be well-cultivated in "morals, knowledge, talent, and learning." This may well serve as a mirror for us. If we interpret "morals" in the foregoing as the stand and moral quality of the proletariat, "knowledge" as the world outlook and method of thinking of dialectical materialism, "talent" as the capability, knowhow,



and methods which the spiritual production departments must basically possess, and "learning" as scientific and cultural knowledge, then we may also say that our spiritual producers should likewise be cultivated in morals, knowledge, talent, and learning. None of these qualities is dispensable. Here we shall dwell on the first two qualities.

The morals of spiritual producers should first be manifested in their sense of responsibility as masters of the country and in a high degree of dedication to their jobs, linking their work closely with the future of their nation, with the destiny of the country, and with the communist enterprise. In his report on the work of the government, Premier Zhao Ziyang said: "All of us workers in the fields of thought, culture, literature, and art should greatly treasure the immense responsibility we have to the people and also greatly treasure the aspirations the people have entrusted to us." This illustrates well the supreme confidence which the party and the people have placed in our spiritual producers. And the sense of responsibility and dedication on the part of the spiritual producers precisely includes that they should note the social effects of spiritual products. In this regard, we should learn from Lu Hsun's great example. Lu Hsun said: "In my search, I fear that my unripe fruits will precisely poison those people who have a fondness for my fruits." He wrote with feeling: "A student came to buy my books. He took out money from his pocket and placed it in my hands. The money still carried the warmth of his body and this deeply impressed me. Up to this time, when I turn to writing, I constantly fear that someday I may poison these youths. This makes me hesitate to start writing (written on the last page of his work "Tombs"). Marx and Engels likewise served as supreme examples. At the end of the last century, there were among the supporters of socialism in Germany a number of university students. They had little knowledge of Marxism, but posted signboards everywhere. They had a high estimation of themselves, frequently claiming that what the workers had was already good enough. Engels criticized them and said: "They hardly know that in Marx's opinion, what he considered as his best was not good enough for the workers and that not to give the workers the best was a crime!" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 476)

In order that their own spiritual products may reap good social results, spiritual producers should be cultured enough to differentiate between fineness and coarseness and between beauty and ugliness. In 1957, the Ministry of Culture, in compliance with the guideline "Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," announced the decision to allow the performance of all traditional theatrical dramas. In July the same year, celebrated actors and actresses in the country like Mei Lanfang, Zhou Xinfang, Cheng Yanqiu, Yuan Xufen, Chang Xiangyu, Chan Xufang, and Lang Hanfen jointly addressed a memorandum to the theatrical circles of the country urging the improvement of the equality of theatrical plays and refusal to stage dramas of bad or low taste. They said: "Although the government does not issue administrative directives to ban the staging of dramas of poor or bad taste, we must still understand that this does not mean that in theatrical art there is no demarcation between what is good and what is bad. In fact, in this theatrical enterprise, we must first possess the cultivation of distinguishing between what is fine or coarse, good or bad, and only in

this way can we avoid taking the wrong road. This should likewise apply to our choice of theatrical plays. For the same reason, there are plays which we should promote and plays which we should reject. We should advocate and promote superior dramas which are artistic in nature and thought-provoking. We should firmly oppose the staging of dramatic plays which are valueless, vulgar, sexual, frightening, and injurious to people's hearts and souls." (XI JU BAO [2070 0489 1032; Drama Journal], Issue 14, 1957) This memorandum well illustrates the high moral calibre of our country's top actors and actresses. It is full of realism, even read today.

In order to provide people with spiritual products which are true, good, and beautiful, we must raise the capacity to distinguish what is false, bad or ugly. Spiritual producers not only should possess a correct stand and a noble character but also should be able to use the world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism to study problems, to understand the social structure, and to ponder life itself, that is to say, they must have the cultivation of "knowledge" or "understanding." The various kinds of spiritual producers must earnestly study the philosophy of Marxism and cultivate and raise their ability to analyze and discuss problems. Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, efforts have been made to rectify the errors of doctrinairism in thought and in theory, to organize the union of the basic principles of Marxism with concrete practice, and to enrich and develop Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. All this has not only pointed out the road for theoretical work but has also created good conditions for all spiritual producers to learn and to apply Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. We should continue our opposition to doctrinairism and pay attention to eliminating any tendency to overlook or underestimate theory and thought. Elevating the level of theory and thought on the part of the spiritual producers will be helpful in reflecting deeply the nature of things and thereby strengthening the depth of thought embodied in spiritual products.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### JURIST DISCUSSES LEGAL ASPECTS OF REPORTAGE

HK180355 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342]: "Legal Problems Involved in Reportage"--abridged version of an article originally carried in SHI DAI DE BAO GAO No 6, 1983]

[Text] A law adjusts social relationships. All social relationships involve legal problems. The creation and development of reportage has given rise to various social relationships, such as the relationship between organizations and people as reflected in reportage and the relationship between the contents of reportage and its influence on politics and society. In fact, all these relationships involve legal problems and must be adjusted by law. I hereby raise some ideas on this problem.

Reportage is literary work depicting real people and events. Therefore, it must have not only journalistic authenticity, but also artistic color. Otherwise, it is not reportage. Reportage is different from news reports, for it not only portrays real people and events, but, more significantly, it uses literary language. It is due to the use of vivid literary language in reportage, that it attract people most. The prosperous new situation on all fronts of the country since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has provided a new field for reportage. Indeed, there has appeared in recent years some good reportage reflecting the spirit of the era. It highly extolled good persons and deeds in the socialist modernization, and criticized and exposed backward phenomena in society, thus playing an important role in encouraging people to create a new situation in socialist modernization. However, we must also see that many contradictions and problems existed in the process of developing reportage. All these problems were mainly centered on the "truthfulness" of reportage. 1) Facts as reflected in reportage were opposed, stifled, or suppressed by units or individuals involved in the reportage; 2) some elements in reportage were not truthful, or parts of them were not truthful. They extolled those persons and deeds that should not be extolled, or criticized those persons and deeds that should not be criticized, particularly haming the normal interests of those units and persons being criticized. As a result, they were protested against or "sued." 3) Facts were truthful, but according to the current policy of the party and state, it was inappropriate to disseminate them, and more inappropriate to extol or criticize them. Of all these problems, some involved the

problem of creation, some involved the problem of professional ethnics, and some involved legal problems. All in all, there are but two problems, one being the problem of protecting writers' freedom of speeches, publication, and literary creation; the other being that writers are not permitted to violate policies and laws of the state, or to undermine the interests of the state, society, and the collectives, and the lawful freedom and rights of other citizens.

It is an important basic right for citizens to enjoy freedom of speech and publication, and it is usually stipulated in a state's constitution in explicit terms that the right must be protected and not violated. Of course, people cannot abuse the freedom. In order to concretely carry out the stipulations in the constitution, relevant laws, such as journalism law and publication law, are usually enacted. As mentioned above, reportage depicts real people and real events, and of course belongs to the realm of the freedom of speech and publication which is protected by the constitution. In general, the stipulations in journalism law and publication law are applicable to it, and sometimes criminal law and civil law may also be applicable when it is involved in criminal cases and loss-claiming lawsuits. In foreign constitutions and laws, the main stipulations on this problem are as follows:

#### 1. Protect Citizens' Freedom of Speech, Writing and Publication

As early as 1789, it was stipulated in the "French Declaration on Human Rights" that "Every citizen has the freedom of speech, writing, and publication." Afterward, constitutions of other capitalist countries made similar stipulations. But, as laboring people had no political standing and economic status, they could not, in fact, enjoy such freedom. The constitution of a socialist country usually protects citizens' freedom in speech and publication. For example, Article 125 of the 1936 constitution of the Soviet Union explicitly stipulated that citizens' freedom of speech and publication must be protected. Journalism laws of many countries more explicitly protected the freedom of journalism and publication. Article 1 of the journalism law promulgated by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia explicitly provides: "It is necessary to guarantee journalistic freedom," and treat it as an important means to carry out citizens' rights and bring into play the role of public opinions. Article 3 of the journalism law of the Romanian Socialist Republic also stipulates that "journalistic freedom is explicitly stipulated by a constitution and all citizens can enjoy this right," and also provides: "it is absolutely impermissible to suppress and intimidate journalists actuated by a motive of obstructing them from performing their professional duties and downgrading their social and professional prestige." Journalistic freedom is a part of freedom of speech and a basic right of citizens, and must be protected by constitution and law. However, just as with other rights, it has never been used unrestrainedly and willfully. "The Declaration of Human Rights" stipulated: "Freedom means one has the right to conduct behavior unharmed to others. Therefore, the exercising of rights of freedom by each person is limited to the guaranteeing of other social members sharing the same rights," and while stipulating that "every citizen has the freedom of speech, writing, and publication," also stipulated: "One must bear responsibilities for abusing this freedom if it

is stipulated in the law." Afterward, all countries usually imposed limitation on the abuse of freedom in their constitutions and laws. For example, Article 111 of Germany's Weimar constitution (1919) provided: "Within the limits of law, the German people have the rights to freely air their views by speeches, written language, printing, books and other means...." The journalism law of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1960) provided: "The violation of citizens' honor, reputation, and rights, and social organizations' interests, constitutes an offence of abusing journalistic freedom, and the violators must bear responsibilities according to law." Of course, such limitations are of different nature in the countries of different social systems. In capitalist countries, it is for the purpose of restricting people and safeguarding the interests of the bourgeoisie, but in socialist countries, it is for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the whole nation and people, including the rights and interests of reportage writers.

## 2. Revise Untruthful News Violating the Rights and Interests of Citizens

The "Law on Public Propaganda" of the Republic of Serbia of Yugoslavia provides: If citizens, institutions and organizations think that untruthful news carried by newspapers and radio stations harms their personality, reputation, rights and interests, they have the right to request principal editors of the newspapers and radio stations to correct their mistakes. If the requests are justified but the newspapers and radio stations refuse to correct their mistakes according to relevant regulations, they may sue the newspapers (or radio stations). The specific section of the journalism law of the Socialist Republic of Romania stipulates: "It is necessary to protect the interests of society and human beings and oppose the abuse of news-releasing power," and treats as the expression of abusing the news-releasing power the disclosure of untruthful information aimed at violating lawful interests, honor, and reputation of others, the injuring of social and professional prestige, and the insult, slander, and intimidation of certain people." It stipulated that injured natural persons and legal persons may ask newspapers and magazines to give replies in the form of a public reply, a correction, or a statement. However, principled, objective, and constructive criticisms cannot be treated as harmful ones. France's 1881 law on journalistic freedom stipulated that editors of publications and writers of articles must bear legal responsibilities for imperiling others' honor and reputation, and for spreading smears and slanders without the basis of irrefutable facts. The original Japanese "Law on Newspapers" (1909) also stipulated: "If a newspaper commits mistakes in disclosing an event and if the person involved asks that mistakes be corrected and statements published to correct mistakes or refute slanders, the newspaper must, in the next issue or the issue after the next, correct its mistakes and refuting slanders." The United States and Britain have also made stipulations on giving replies to untruthful reports.

## 3. Deal With and Punish Individuals and Units Which Release Illegal, Untruthful News to Purposely Harm Others

The laws of many countries stipulate that those who purposely release illegal, untruthful news harming others must be punished according to law. But different methods for punishment may be used in different cases.



1) Impose a fine. The journalism law of the Socialist Republic of Romania stipulates that if a newspaper fails to give a reply within a definite time according to the stipulations of the journalism law to those who raise demands because of being injured by untruthful news reports, it must pay a fine of 200-1,000 lei for its delay. 2) Compensate for losses. Article 709 of the Japanese civil law stipulates: "Those who cause losses to others because of violating others' rights purposely or due to their faults must bear responsibilities to compensate for losses." Article 710 also provides: "Apart from bearing responsibilities for incurring losses as mentioned in the preceding article, those who injure others' bodies, freedom, and reputation, and undermine others' property rights, must also compensate for losses other than that of property." 3) Legal punishment. Many countries also impose legal punishment for news reports undermining citizens' reputations and personality. The journalism law of the Socialist Republic of Romania stipulates that victims may lodge legal proceedings against criminal conducts committed through newspapers and magazines. The Japanese criminal law also stipulates that those who disclose facts, whether truthful or not, to undermine others' reputation must be sentenced to imprisonment for up to 3 years, jailed, or fined up to 1,000 yen.

All the above are some stipulations made in foreign constitutions and laws to protect journalistic freedom and to prevent news reports from genuinely undermining citizens' rights. All these stipulations are not aimed at reportage directly, but they are also applicable to reportage as mentioned above.

Ours is a socialist country, and our country's constitution and law fully protect the freedom of speech of citizens, including that of reportage writers. Article 35 of China's new constitution provides: "Citizens of the PRC enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession, and of demonstration." Of course, the freedom of speech of reportage writers must also be protected. Furthermore, Article 47 also explicitly stipulates: "Citizens of the PRC have the freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation, and other cultural pursuits." The state not only protects this freedom, but also takes concrete measures for developing it. The same article provides: "The state encourages and assists creative endeavours conducive to the interests of the people that are made by citizens engaged in work." Article 22 also provides: "The state promotes the development of literature and art, the press, broadcasting and television undertakings, publishing and distribution service,...." In fact, these measures provide ample opportunities for reportage writers to write and publish works, and to achieve freedom of speech. Of course, in social practice, there were many cases involving the violation of these rights. Some reportage did not go against the requirement of truthfulness and did not undermine the interests of the state and society, but exposed and criticized some persons' mistakes, encroaching on their interests. As a result, they were obstructed and suppressed and some leading cadres even took advantage of their power to retaliate, thus adversely affecting the activities of normal creation by reportage writers. This is a gross encroachment on the rights enjoyed by reportage writers on freedom of speech, and



an act violating the constitution and law, which is absolutely impermissible. If such an act constitutes a crime, it is necessary to investigate and affix the responsibility for the crime, and to enforce punishment according to law, and no one can be shielded. China has not yet formulated journalism law and publication law, but relevant stipulations in the criminal law are also applicable. Article 131 of the criminal law provides: "The law protects the citizen's personal and democratic rights and other rights against unlawful infringement by any person or organization. Those who are directly responsible for serious cases of unlawful infringement should be subject to criminal sanction." It is, of course, impermissible to infringe on the rights enjoyed by reportage writers on freedom of speech. Article 146 of the criminal law also provides: "A state functionary who abuses his power, indulges in jobbery or vindictively makes false charges against people who have filed lawsuits, appealed, or made criticism will be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than 2 years. In grave cases, the offender will be sentenced to imprisonment for not less than 2 years and no more than 7." Of course, reportage writers are people who make criticism and it is absolutely impermissible to vindictively make false charges against them.

However, while exercising their rights on freedom of speech, reportage writers must, like other citizens, perform corresponding obligations as prescribed in the constitution and law, that is, "the exercise by citizens of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society, and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens." (Article 51 of the new constitution) In concrete practice, while engaging in literary creation, reportage writers must strictly adhere to the requirement of truthfulness. They are not permitted to fabricate facts and create "advanced models" to provoke confusion in our ideology and work; nor are they permitted to use untruthful or even distorted and fabricated information to infringe upon other citizens' rights and impair their personal dignity. Article 38 of our country's constitution provides: "The personal dignity of citizens of the PRC is inviolable. Insult, libel, false charges or frame-up directed against citizens by any means is prohibited." Article 145 of the criminal law also provides: "Whoever seriously insults another person by force or other means, including the use of "big-character posters" or "small character posters," or fabricates facts to libel him will be sentenced to detention, deprivation of political rights or imprisonment for not more than 3 years." Here, "any means" and "other means" include writing reportage. In reportage, freedom of speech should be protected and it is impermissible to libel others. What is a libel? Article 1340 of the criminal law of New York State, quoted frequently in the United States, defines the meaning of a libel as follows: "It is a libel to maliciously publish written language, printed matter, pictures, portraits, marks or other non-verbal matter to hate, despise, scoff and censure a living person or the recollection of a dead person, or to isolate another person or to foster a tendency of isolating them, or to foster a tendency of harming business and professional reputation of other persons, companies, and social organizations." British judges also hold that it is a libel if one's speech aims at: 1) Hating, scoffing or despising others; 2) isolating others or giving them the cold shoulder; 3) downgrading the evaluation of another person among normal people in the society; or 4) devaluating others' reputation in their organizations,

profession and trade. The law on journalistic freedom adopted on 29 July 1881 in France, also stipulates: It is a libel if one cites a fact or imputes the fact to a certain person or organization so as to impair his (or its) reputation or honor. In China, it mainly refers to that the content of news reports and reportage which openly insults others or fabricates facts to impair others' personal dignity or to injure the reputation of a certain organization. Such an act constitutes a crime of libel, and it is necessary to investigate and affix the responsibility for the crime according to the criminal law. Some untruthful reports or not totally truthful reports are not fabricated, but they must be corrected upon the request of the victims. If they are not corrected, they should be treated as a crime of libel. But if they are corrected, they should not be treated as an act of libel.

Although China has not yet enacted a civil law code to deal with the problem of compensating for losses resulting from an act of libel or untruthful reports, the principle of compensating for losses has long been applied in civil lawsuits. Some relevant stipulations in Articles 31 and 32 in the criminal law are applicable, that is, "Apart from sanctions according to law, an offender guilty of an offense resulting in financial losses to a victim should also be sentenced to make reparations in the light of the condition;" (Article 31) "Light offenses that do not require punishment may be exempted from criminal sanctions. However, the offender may be reprimanded or ordered to mend his ways, apologize and pay compensation or be subjected to administrative disciplinary measures from the department in charge based on the seriousness of the offense." (Article 32) In real life, there actually exist cases of an individual citizen or organization being harmed due to the untruthful contents of reportage or libels. In such a situation, whether criminal sanctions are imposed or not, it is necessary to compensate victims for their losses.

All in all, according to the stipulations in the new constitution of protecting citizens' freedoms in speech and publication, the freedom for writing reportage should be protected. It is absolutely impermissible to suppress the creation of reportage and to retaliate against the writers. But the content of reportage must be truthful and should not be unfounded. Fabrication and libel are impermissible legally. The law protects the freedom for creating reportage. In the meantime, it is necessary to prevent reportage from infringing upon others' rights and undermining the interests of the state and society.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### REFORM OF CHINESE WRITING SYSTEM PROGRESSING

HK270138 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 27 Jul 83 p 4

["Special" to CHINA DAILY by Wang Zhongbo, director of the Language Institute of the Chinese People's University: "Reform of Chinese Writing System Advancing Well"]

[Text] The reform of the Chinese writing system, starting in the 1920s, has made great progress since the establishment of the People's Republic. The task before us now is still to achieve the three objectives proposed by the late Premier Zhou Enlai: 1) Simplification of Chinese characters, 2) popularization of common spoken Chinese, and 3) fixing and introducing a Chinese phonetic alphabet.

With regard to simplification, in 1956 the State Council announced the "Scheme for simplifying Chinese characters." Taking this as a basis, the Commission for the Reform of the Chinese Writing System published a list of 2,338 simplified characters in 1964. A second list consisting of two groups was published in 1977. The first group of 248 characters was added to the first list and has been since put in use, while the second group of 605 characters was suspended after certain defects were discovered.

The Commission for the Reform of the Chinese Writing System is currently revising the second list. In addition, it is working on a comprehensive and systematic simplification of Chinese characters in accordance with the instructions of Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC.

The drive to popularize common spoken Chinese has been based on publicity and practice in selected key districts. The campaign began in the 50s and the study of common spoken Chinese was gaining ground in the 60s. It was suspended during the "cultural revolution," but is being reintroduced gradually.

The 1982 Constitution stipulates that the state should promote common spoken Chinese. Fifteen institutions including the Ministry of Education, the China Commission for Reform of Chinese Writing, the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions have issued joint proposals supporting that stipulation.

Chinese provinces and municipalities also took steps to publicize and practice the use of common spoken Chinese. With schools taken as the starting point, the spoken language is developing steadily to embrace all sectors of the nation.

The Chinese phonetic alphabet has been spreading widely since the ratification of the scheme by the National People's Congress in 1958. Beginning that year, the phonetic alphabet was introduced into the textbooks of primary schools. The scheme greatly helps pupils to learn Chinese characters.

#### Minorities

The Chinese phonetic alphabet has been used to help foreigners learning the Chinese language and has proved very successful.

Some national minorities have been using the alphabet to either create or reform their own languages. The experiment in using the phonetic alphabet as a telegraphic alphabet has likewise met with good results. At the moment, there are 24 branches of the New China News Agency using entirely or partially the Chinese phonetic alphabet to transmit their news dispatches.

A novelty introduced after the popularization of the phonetic alphabet is the compiling and printing of dictionaries, glossaries, encyclopedias and reference books in phonetic order rather than classification according to groups of different radicals. The phonetic alphabet is also used by certain scientific institutes in the operation of computers.

Internationally, the United Nations adopted the Chinese phonetic alphabet as the standard transcription of Chinese personal and geographical names in 1979. Three years later, the International Standardization Conference also resolved to adopt the phonetic alphabet as the internationally standardized transcription of Chinese characters.

In view of the fact that Chinese characters will still remain in use as the principal language for quite a long time, standardization of characters will remain vital not only in the use of computers, but also in correspondence between individuals.

To this end, the Chinese Commission for the Reform of the Chinese Writing System has decided to work out a "table of standardized modern Chinese words" which is to help realize four "fixings": fixing the number, shape, pronunciation and order of words. The project will start with the compilation of a "general table of modern Chinese words" which will include two major tables: the "table of modern Chinese words in common use" and the "table of daily-use modern Chinese words."

These tables and many others that are to be worked out and officially fixed will help greatly in the teaching of the language, in publication and printing, in news dispatches and in the use in computers.

CSO: 4000/204

## EAST REGION

### XINHUA RIBAO URGES STUDY OF DENG'S WORKS

OW140225 Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jul 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Assiduously and Intensively Study 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Text] The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" was published on 1 July.

The "Selected Works" features important speeches and talks delivered by Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the period from 1975 through 1982, the year the party's 12th National Congress was convened, most of which are published for the first time. The publication of the "Selected Works" provides a valuable document for the masses of readers to understand the course of the party's great historical change, increase their understanding of the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, and study how to uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions. This brilliant work is not only of imperishable historic significance, but also is of great importance in guiding China's socialist construction at present and in the future.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speeches in 1975 reflected the tremendous efforts he made, while waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four," to straighten out work in various fields, eliminate the chaos caused by the "cultural revolution" and promote stability and unity and development of the national economy. It's too bad that the process was soon interrupted by erroneous criticisms. Nevertheless, Comrade Deng Xiaoping represented at that time the party's correct leadership. His speeches were in line with the aspirations of the party and the people and have been deeply imprinted in the people's minds to this day.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping resumed work. His speeches and talks after 1977 show his policy-making role and outstanding contributions to propelling and guiding the whole party to set things right, effect a great historical change and determine the correct road, principles and policies for socialist modernization on the basis of the tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and China's conditions. Lenin said: A leader's ability is "to know how to find at every opportunity the special link in a chain, grasp this link with all his strength to control the entire chain and prepare to move steadily to the next link." Comrade Deng Xiaoping indeed has moved with the tide of historical development and grasped the



"special link" in the chain of revolution and construction in a realistic manner. In the first 2 years following the end of the decade of turmoil, the "gang of four" were criticized. But the long-existing "left" guiding ideology was not yet repudiated. Moreover, the erroneous "two whatever's" policy seriously hindered the effort to set things right. The party faced a difficult situation and advanced haltingly. Comrade Deng Xiaoping long ago put forward the carefully considered view of "grasping Mao Zedong Thought as a whole and accurately" and clearly pointed out that the "two whatever's" did not accord with Marxism.

After he resumed work, he personally took charge of the work to set things right in the scientific and educational fields, pointing out that the key to realizing the four modernizations lies in the development of science and education and the mastery of modern science and technology. He also correctly explained the role of intellectuals in history and reaffirmed that the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have already become a part of the working class. Under the conditions at that time, this was a statement of great foresight.

Soon after the discussion began of what should be the criterion of truth, he supported the discussion when he spoke at the All-Army Political Work Conference. He repeatedly stressed that the party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts must be reinstated. All this became ideological and theoretical preparation for reestablishing the party's Marxist ideological line, for the convening of the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and for realizing the historic change.

After the convening of the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and as efforts were made in all fields to restore order, Comrade Deng Xiaoping promptly put forward the four basic principles of upholding the socialist course, people's democratic dictatorship, the CPC's leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, thus leading the whole party to properly carry out the struggle between the two lines. He stressed that upholding the party's leadership is the core of upholding the four basic principles, so that it is necessary to exert great efforts to strengthen and improve the party's leadership and build the party into a strong core of leadership over socialist modernization.

Prior to the 60th founding anniversary of the party, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave specific guidance to the drafting of the "Resolution on Several Historical Questions of the Party After the Founding of the Country," which summed up historical experiences, correctly appraised Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and expounded Mao Zedong Thought, and thus unified the thinking of the whole party. Following the shift of the party's focus of work, he led comrades to explore ways of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. He stressed that it is necessary to "integrate the universal truth of Marxism with China's actual practice, take our own course and build socialism with Chinese characteristics," saying that a whole series of reforms are necessary in order to realize the four modernizations. The many strategic concepts and the whole series of general and specific policies he



put forward became the important contents of the documents issued by the 12th Party Congress; they are guiding us to create a new situation of building socialism in all fields.

The 47 articles collected in the "Selected Works" fully demonstrate Comrade Deng Xiaoping's consummate art of leadership and his incisive analysis of things based on dialectical and historical materialism, his Marxist bravery and sagacity, and that he, while studying and resolving new problems, used--and is still using--new practical and theoretical generalizations to enrich and develop Mao Zedong Thought. For this reason, while we earnestly and assiduously study the "Selected Works" today, we must study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Marxist stand, viewpoint, method and style of studying and resolving problems, increase our understanding of the party's line, principles and policies, act more firmly to be politically at one with the party Central Committee and raise our consciousness of implementing the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress.

Now the "Selected Works" has been published, party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over the organizing of the study. They must make overall plans, take all factors into consideration and arrange the study in a scientific manner. It is true that there already are many things that we must study, such as the important documents of the 12th Party Congress and the documents of the first session of the Sixth NPC and the first session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee. Although there are many things that we must study, the general guidelines are the same. We must integrate the study of the guidelines of these documents with the study of the "Selected Works." Since each one of us has personally experienced the great historic transition and change recorded in the "Selected Works," we will feel particularly warmhearted when we study this book. While studying the "Selected Works," which is an indispensable ideological weapon for summing up our experiences and emancipating our minds, we must thoroughly understand its general guidelines, pay close attention to its main points as well as our actual situation, and study it assiduously and intensively until every issue has been thoroughly understood. We must guard against formalism and make sure that our study is really effective.

Comrade Hu Yaobang said at the meeting to mark the centennial of Marx' death: "During this new historical period and in the face of socialist construction, our party has once again put forward the slogan of studying anew." We must work conscientiously to make this study a success and whip up an upsurge in studying theory and professional and general knowledge so as to push the four modernizations forward and realize the great objective of building a stronger and more prosperous China.

CSO: 4005/1017

## EAST REGION

### WEN HUI BAO ARTICLE ON STUDYING DENG'S WORKS

OW110101 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Lin Jingyao: "Uphold the Ideological Line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee--Some Understanding Gained in the Study of 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Excerpts] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" reflects Comrade Deng Xiaoping's tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four" as well as the course our party traversed since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, until the 12th CPC National Congress. It is very profound and rich in substance. The fundamental views and methods presented throughout the Selected Works reflect the basic principles and foundation of the theory of knowledge of Marxist philosophy, namely, of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from realities in doing everything and combining theory with practice. This is commonly referred to as the dialectical materialist ideological line. It is precisely on this matter of fundamental principle that Comrade Deng Xiaoping profoundly expounds and elaborates Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The basic principles of the Marxist theory of knowledge reemphasized and elaborated by Comrade Deng Xiaoping under the new historical conditions have guided the whole party in bringing order out of chaos, adopting important policy decisions and formulating new principles and policies since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. They are still very important in guiding the current and future socialist modernization program in China.

1. On 7 February 1977 RENMIN RIBAO, the journal HONGQI and JIEFANGJUN BAO published an editorial entitled "Study the Documents Well and Grasp the Key Link" which concerned the well-known "two whatevers," that is, "We must resolutely safeguard whatever Chairman Mao decides, we must always adhere to whatever directive he issues." At that time large numbers of cadres and masses inside and outside the party strongly demanded that Comrade Deng Xiaoping be rehabilitated and that the verdicts on the Tiananmen Incident be reversed. They felt that their demand would naturally be accepted by the party Central Committee. However, Comrade Hua Guofeng, who was then chairman of the CPC Central Committee, implemented the principle of "two whatevers" and outright rejected these demands. His purpose was to perpetuate the errors committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his remaining years without making any alterations. We can say that the "two whatevers" were a continuation of

"acting in accordance with established principles." As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "So-called acting in accordance with established principles meant acting in accordance with the erroneous principles of Comrade Mao Zedong in his remaining years." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 262; henceforth only page number will be indicated when quoting from this book) In terms of ideological line, the "two whatevers" followed an idealist and metaphysical ideological line. The "two whatevers" not only outright suppressed the demands of the large numbers of cadres and masses that Comrade Deng Xiaoping be rehabilitated and that the verdicts on the Tiananmen Incident be reversed, but also for a period of time continued to suppress the growing demands of the large numbers of cadres and masses that the errors of the "great cultural revolution" be rectified. This posed a serious mental obstruction for the cadres and masses and became an obstacle hampering the healthy growth of our party and state. Unless this obstacle was removed, our party and state could not advance and it would revert to the chaotic situation characteristic of the "great cultural revolution."

The criticism of the "two whatevers" conforms to the aspiration and demands of the cadres and masses inside and outside the party. There are two ways to criticize the "two whatevers," one is to prove that the "whatever" viewpoint is incorrect by answering the specific questions one by one; the other is to make criticism by means of the theory of knowledge, that is, to make criticism by using knowledge and thought. Problems will be readily solved if this fundamental problem is solved. Solving problems by epistemological means is not only important for us to correctly understand and handle the practical problems we face, it is also very important for us to scientifically digest historical experience and lessons.

Although the "two whatevers" were sharply criticized by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and resisted and opposed by large numbers of cadres and masses when they appeared, Comrade Hua Guofeng at that time chose to regard them as an ideological weapon to perpetuate the "left" errors. The cadres and masses inside and outside the party called for thoroughly rectifying the errors of the "great cultural revolution" as well as the "left" errors committed prior to the "great cultural revolution." Therefore, it was necessary to completely remove the "two whatevers" from our minds, instead of arguing what should and what should not be "safeguarded" and "adhered to" in individual cases or issues. In other words, it was necessary to show, from the epistemological viewpoint, that the "two whatevers" were absurd and untenable. As for the ideological basis of the "two whatevers," and in the minds of the advocates of the "two whatevers" whenever they make observations and handle problems, some established concepts and ideas were used as the criteria. Things that conformed to these criteria were deemed correct and should be resolutely "safeguarded" and "adhered to." Things that did not conform to these criteria were pronounced absurd. This completely reversed the relationship between the subjective and the objective in the process of acquiring knowledge. The discussion on the criteria of truth which started in the first half of 1978 deeply affected the "two whatevers." Practice being the sole criterion of truth was not a new scientific discovery, but common sense in the Marxist theory of knowledge. However, it acquired a new meaning

under the new situation. Therefore, the profound discussion of this problem was in itself a process of upholding and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge.

From the very beginning, the discussion on practice being the sole criterion of truth was opposed and suppressed by comrades who advocated the "two whatevers." They even regarded making that proposition as an act of "cutting down the flag" [meaning abandoning the party standard]. Comrade Deng Xiaoping fully supported and affirmed this discussion as an activity of tremendous significance.

"Cutting down the flag" was a label pinned by some comrades on other comrades who reemphasized that practice was the sole criterion of truth. Those who pinned the label on others regarded the "two whatevers" as holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. It became a very acute problem. From the epistemological point of view, Comrade Deng Xiaoping provides a scientific answer to the question of what holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought is. He says: That we even should have disputes about whether or not theory should be tested through practice "shows the extent of mental rigidity." "Seeking truth from facts" is the quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought. In upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts, we persist in proceeding from realities in handling all problems that concern principles and policies. We should now proceed from the present realities, make full use of all the favorable conditions and effectively quicken the pace of modernization. This is the true and best way to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. The "two whatevers" were a sham way to "hold high" the banner. They could only harm Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech on this topic on 9 August 1978 gave further ideological and political support to the discussion on the criterion of truth and thoroughly stripped the "two whatevers" from all political worth.

The discussion on the criterion of truth that started in 1978 laid down a firm ideological foundation for the strategic policy decisions formulated at the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, for the principles and policies laid down since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, for the nationwide efforts to bring order out of chaos and for the present and future reforms. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's vigorous support cannot be separated from the fact that this discussion was carried out, despite various obstacles, on all fronts and in all trades and professions throughout the country and made achievements of far-reaching significance.

2. After the smashing of the "gang of four," while promoting and guiding the work of bringing order out of chaos, Comrade Deng Xiaoping upheld and applied the Marxist theory of knowledge and scientifically summed up and digested the experience and lessons gained since the founding of New China, especially those of the "great cultural revolution." This enabled our party to proceed along a healthy course in carrying out the arduous and complicated work of bringing order out of chaos, and to avoid mistakes committed in the history of the international communist movement and of our party. This shows that our party is a mature and great Marxist political party.

According to the Marxist theory of knowledge, man's knowledge does not develop in a straight line; it rather goes through twists and turns. There is always the possibility of making mistakes. What Marxists need is to make fewer mistakes and detours and not to commit serious mistakes that affect the overall situation. Under general circumstances this requirement can be met. However, serious mistakes that affect the overall situation, such as the "great cultural revolution" and the "left" mistakes before that period, did occur, much to our regret. The mistakes of the "great cultural revolution" were caused by the sabotage of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. But there were epistemological causes on the part of our party and Comrade Mao Zedong. This was also true in the case of the "left" mistakes prior to the "great cultural revolution." Thus our work of bringing order out of chaos is complicated, but the Marxist theory of knowledge provides us with the scientific method of correctly understanding and handling historical problems.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly quotes Comrade Mao Zedong as saying that man is apt to make mistakes. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong himself committed mistakes and made erroneous statements. There has never been a person who is right in every word he says and who is perfectly correct. This shows the need of bringing order out of chaos. In view of the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" of antagonizing knowledge and discrediting intellectuals as well as the erroneous trend of despising knowledge and discriminating against intellectuals that prevailed for a long time in our party, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called on the whole party to respect knowledge and talented people soon after the smashing of the "gang of four."

3. To uphold the Marxist theory of knowledge, it is necessary to realistically sum up historical experience and bring order out of chaos. At the same time it is also necessary to break the restrictions imposed by traditional habits and subjective bias, study the new situation and solve new problems. The course we traversed prior to the 12th CPC National Congress was one of bringing order out of chaos, of constantly exploring the path to achieve socialist modernization under the conditions that prevail in China and of making important policy decisions. By upholding and applying the Marxist theory of knowledge and adhering to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, we were able to accomplish within a fairly short time the work of straightening out the party's guiding thought, bring about great and historic changes, and deepen our understanding of the path leading to China's socialist modernization.

In the 1980's we undertake socialist modernization in a country which has a huge population (80 percent of which are peasants) and little cultivated land, which is economically, scientifically and culturally backward and which has large numbers of illiterates. Marx and Engels never experienced such a period and such conditions, so they cannot possibly offer us models that we can copy. Some contemporary countries have their own models for building socialism. We can learn from their experience and lessons and use them as references, but it is impossible to copy them mechanically. Our goal is to build a modern, highly democratic, highly civilized and powerful socialist

state. To achieve this goal, we cannot simply rely on the books written by our predecessors or mechanically use other people's or our own past experience. Conditions have changed. Some of them were never experienced by Comrade Mao Zedong. Therefore, we should first renew our understanding of the international environment and conditions we face as well as China's conditions and then make relevant policy decisions.

From "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" we can learn about the path presented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping to achieve socialist modernization as well as about his profound views and ideas on the principles and policies that are to be implemented. We can also learn about Comrade Deng Xiaoping's methods of understanding and handling problems. Learning about the latter is more fundamental than learning about the former.

The Marxist theory of knowledge is a sharp weapon for us to understand and transform the world. Comrade Deng Xiaoping is a typical example in upholding and applying this great instrument of acquiring knowledge. By conscientiously studying and understanding the epistemological ideas expounded and elaborated by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and by upholding the ideological line of the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we will avoid detours in accomplishing modernization and will constantly create new situations.

CSO: 4005/1017



## EAST REGION

### ARTICLE URGES STUDY OF DENG'S WORKS

OW092232 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Hua Jianzhong: "Create an Atmosphere of Respect for Knowledge and Qualified Personnel--Study the Exposition on Intellectuals in 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Excerpts] Attaching great importance to knowledge and bringing into full play the role of intellectuals is the key to realizing the socialist modernization program in China. This concept has been accepted by more and more comrades now. It is the result of the implementation of the policy of setting things to rights laid down since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It is inseparable from Comrade Deng Xiaoping's contributions in formulating the policy towards intellectuals. Studying the exposition on intellectuals in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" will make us believe even more ardently that the party's policy on intellectuals laid down since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is entirely correct and that this policy will create an atmosphere of "respecting knowledge and qualified personnel" in the whole party and in the entire society.

More than 90 percent of the intellectuals in China at present were trained by the party after liberation. After being educated and tempered by the party over a protracted period of time, even those intellectuals who have come over from the old society have experienced basic changes in their world outlook. They cherish the party, the motherland and socialism and work hard for the cause of the party without complaint. Both in the period when they were interfered with by "leftist" errors and in the chaotic decade they kept full trust in the party and firmly adhered to socialism. Just like Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Even when Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were persecuting and killing the intellectuals, the broad masses of scientific and technical personnel did not waver in their confidence in the party and in socialism. Under extremely difficult conditions, they remained firm in carrying out their work in the field of science and technology. Many people demonstrated their high awareness in their struggle against the 'gang of four.' Since the smashing of the 'gang of four' they have displayed tremendous revolutionary enthusiasm, wholeheartedly supported the party Central Committee and worked even harder for the realization of the four modernization program. How commendable are such intellectuals!" (page 89 of the "Selected Works")

Practice has proven that three types of laborers--workers, peasants and intellectuals--form the three basic social forces in our socialist society. The development of modern production and the creation of modern civilization are inseparable from the work of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. It is necessary to correctly implement the party's policy towards intellectuals and firmly establish the correct concept that intellectuals are part of the working class.

To respect knowledge and qualified personnel and implement the party's policy toward intellectuals it is first of all essential to have full trust in the intellectuals and boldly put them to use in the development of the four modernization program. Comrade Xiaoping points out: "When experts inside or outside the party perform administrative duties, the party committee must support them, bring their role into full play and see to it that they truly perform their duties, carry out their functions and are given the proper authority. They are also cadres of the state and the party. We must not regard them as outsiders." (page 95 of "Selected Works") In assigning jobs to intellectuals, we must also ensure that the talents of every individual are used to the full and all human talents are turned to best account.

Selecting and promoting outstanding middle-aged and young intellectuals to leading posts and bringing about changes in the cadre ranks, particularly in the makeup of leading bodies, is also an important aspect of respecting knowledge and qualified personnel and bringing into full play the role of intellectuals. Comrade Xiaoping pointed out: "The makeup of the cadre ranks is unreasonable. There are too many cadres who lack professional knowledge and are vocationally incompetent." (page 227 of "Selected Works") He also pointed out: "From now on, in selecting cadres we must pay particular attention to their professional knowledge. We have paid little attention to such knowledge over a protracted period. If we do not pay particular attention now, it will be impossible for us to develop the modernization program." (page 228 of "Selected Works") In order to change this situation, Comrade Xiaoping pointed out that on the one hand, the leading cadres at all levels should intensify their study in order to gradually become experts, while on the other hand, we must select and promote outstanding middle-aged and young intellectuals to leading posts. He said: "We must gradually achieve our goal to ensure that all our professional organs, including the party committees of such organs, are led by professional competent people." (page 229 of "Selected Works")

We are elated to see that our nation has taken a firm step forward in ensuring that China's cadres will become revolutionary, better educated, professional more competent and younger. With the creation of the atmosphere of respecting knowledge and qualified personnel, further changes will definitely take place in the makeup of our cadre ranks.

CSO: 4005/1017

EAST REGION

JIANGXI CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS 11 JULY

OW140633 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Jul 83

[Excerpts] The second session of the Standing Committee of the fifth provincial CPPCC Committee was held at the Zhongshan hall in Nanchang this morning to relay and implement the guidelines of the first sessions of the Sixth NPC and the CPPCC. The meeting called on all members and the people from all walks of life to strengthen the great unity and reunification of the Chinese nation by holding aloft the patriotic banner and make new contributions toward achieving the four socialist modernizations, accomplishing the reunification of the motherland and safeguarding world peace.

Wu Ping, chairman of the provincial CPPCC Committee, presided over the meeting. (Yang Yongfeng), member of the CPPCC National Committee and director of the United Front Work Department of the provincial CPC Committee, relayed the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth CPPCC Committee. His report was divided into five parts: Part one: A Grand Meeting of Struggle in Unity; party two: Develop and Strengthen the Great Unity and Reunification of the Chinese Nation; part three: Consolidate and Develop the Excellent Situation and Continuously Advance the Socialist Modernizations; part four: Elect Leaders of Prestige and Ability to Ensure the Perennial Stability and Healthy Development of Our Country; part five: Make New Contributions Toward Reconstructing China Under the Leadership of the CPC.

Present at the meeting were vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC Committee Lu Xiaopeng, Shen Hanqing, Li Huafeng, Liu Jianhua, Lu Liang, (Zhu Danhua), (Guo Qingfen), (Li Shanyuan), (Wu Yongle) and Secretary General (Liu Yurui).

CSO: 4005/1017

## EAST REGION

### FOURTH PROVINCIAL PARTY CONGRESS OPENED 13 JULY

SK140929 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Jul 83

[Excerpts] The Fourth Shandong Provincial Party Congress was opened amid the grand playing of the internationale at 8:30 on 13 July. The congress site was the auditorium of the Dongjiao Hotel in Jinana.

Liang Buting, executive chairman, presided over the congress and delivered an opening speech.

Comrade Liang Buting said: To make this party congress successful, we must adhere to the four basic principles and practice democratic centralism. We must do a good job in electing the three committees in line with the stipulations of the party constitution and in accordance with the demand of making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger, better educated, and more professionally competent. Efforts must be made to elect into the new provincial CPC Committee cadres with ability and political integrity, and who are in the prime of life: to elect into the provincial advisory committee old comrades who have made great contributions to the party and have rich leadership experience and great prestige; and to elect into the provincial Discipline Inspection Commission comrades who work impartially and have the courage to adhere to principles so that in the highest leading organs of the party there will be cooperation of old and new cadres and succession of the new to the old so as to provide an organizational guarantee for successfully fulfilling our province's four modernizations construction task.

Comrade Liang Buting said: Prior to the opening of this congress, the party Central Committee issued a circular calling on the entire party to conscientiously study the selected works of Deng Xiaoping. Studying this glorious document well is important ideological construction for our party as well as important ideological preparations for comprehensive party consolidation. The party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership and make fruitful efforts to study this document and use its basic guidelines to guide all our work. The party Central Committee has shown great concern for the opening of our provincial party congress and the broad masses of party members and the masses across the province have placed great hope in it. I believe that all delegates attending the congress, with the spirit of being highly responsible to the party and the people, will take

the initiative in conscientiously exercising their glorious duties and in making this congress successful so as not to disappoint the kind attention and hope of the party Central Committee and the confidence and trust of the broad masses of party members across the province.

Comrade Su Yiran delivered a report on behalf of the third provincial CPC Committee.

Comrades of the Presidium Standing Committee participating in the congress opening held on 13 July included Su Yiran, Liang Buting, Lu Maozeng, Li Changan, Li Zhen, Jiang Chunyun, Yang Yanyin, Zhou Zhenxing, Zheng Weimin, and Xu Shulin. Attending the congress as observers were principal responsible persons and relevant comrades from the provincial departments, committees, and bureaus, and of various counties and cities. Responsible comrades from the central work group attended the opening ceremony on invitation. Also present at the opening ceremony on invitation were responsible persons from all provincial democratic parties, and of the Trade Union Council as well as noted non-party personages.

CSO: 4005/1017

EAST REGION

ZHEJIANG CPC CALLS FOR STUDY OF DENG'S WORKS

OW140605 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by the Theoretical Office of the Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee Propaganda Department: "Seriously Study the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Text] The publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is a major event in the political life of our party and state. It is the important task of all party comrades, especially leading cadres at all levels, to seriously study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping."

Comrade Deng Xiaoping is a long-tested proletarian revolutionary of the older generation of our party, and one of the principal party and state leaders with rich experience and outstanding ability in leadership. Because of his outstanding contributions to our country's revolution and construction over a long period of time, he has won the deep respect of the people of the country. Thus he enjoys high prestige both in and outside the party. The publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" answers the eager wishes of the whole party, the entire army and the people across the country, and the book will certainly be warmly received by the people.

Theory comes from practice and is a summing-up and distillation of the latter. A great era is bound to produce theoretical works that reflect it. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is precisely a product of the great era in which we now live. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speeches of 1975 included in the "Selected Works" show the key role he played in the tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four." His speeches of the years after 1977 reflect the policymaking role he played and the outstanding contributions he made in giving impetus to and leading the whole party in setting things right, reestablishing correct leadership according to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and taking the correct road for our country's socialist modernization. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" reflects Comrade Deng Xiaoping's selflessness, foresight and farsightedness as well as his outstanding ability and qualities in taking the whole situation into account and making plans accordingly. It reflects his profound mastery of Marxist theory in keeping with the demands of the people and the tide of historical development, timely summing up the experiences of the masses and listening attentively to people's practical views. It also reflects his exemplary style of



combining revolutionary courage and resourcefulness with a realistic spirit. Therefore, we can say that the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is a crystallization of the party's collective wisdom and the masses' fresh experience as well as a brilliant example of integrating theory with practice, and that it contains important guidelines for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. As the publisher's note says, "This work is not only of imperishable historic significance but also of great importance in guiding China's socialist construction at present and in the future."

Theory comes from practice, and in turn guides and serves the latter. We must seriously study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and uphold the principle of integrating theory with practice while doing so. We should combine our study of the "Selected Works" with systematically summing-up our personal experiences, purifying our thinking, studying new situations, solving new problems and promoting our work in various fields; we should also combine this study with an extensive study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the "Selected Important Documents Since the Third Plenary Session," the "Selected Manuscripts of Chen Yun," the "Selected Documents on the Question of Intellectuals" and the documents of the first session of the Sixth NPC. In studying the "Selected Works," we should pay particular attention to making a systematic review of the party's glorious history since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in order to deepen our understanding of the far-reaching significance of the historic change accomplished and to further follow the correct ideological line. We should systematically review the formulation and development of the line, principles and policies since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in order to deepen our understanding of the party's line, principles and policies, further raise our consciousness in implementing the guidelines laid down by the 12th Party Congress and achieve a higher degree of unity with the party Central Committee. We should sum up both positive and negative experiences in socialist construction in order to deepen our understanding of building socialism with Chinese characteristics according to China's conditions, further do away with various conventions, emancipate our minds, study and solve new problems, bring about a new situation and promote the development of the four modernizations and various reforms. We should deepen our understanding of the importance of building a spiritual civilization, uphold guidance by communist ideology, struggle against erroneous tendencies, continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and the influence of "leftist" mistakes, resist the corrosive influence of decadent capitalist ideas from abroad and combat bourgeois liberalization. We should also deepen our understanding of the importance and necessity of strengthening party building and upholding and improving party leadership in the new historical period, strengthen the building of the party ideologically, organizationally and in work style, vigorously rectify the party style and make full ideological preparations for an all-round party consolidation.

We believe that a serious study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" will certainly be conducive to upholding and developing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in practice and promoting the development of socialist construction with Chinese characteristics.

CSO: 4005/1017

EAST REGION

JIANGXI CONGRESS COMMITTEE HOLD 2D MEETING

OW090939 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Jul 83

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress held its second meeting at the Jiangxi Guest House this morning. The main items on the agenda of the meeting were:

Relaying and implementing the guidelines laid down by the first session of the Sixth NPC;

Relaying Comrade Peng Shen's speech on strengthening the work of the standing committees of people's congresses at various levels;

Discussing and deciding on the establishment of organs under the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress;

Examining and approving the regulations on the requisition of land for national construction drafted by the provincial people's government;

Hearing a report by the Standing Committee of the Jian County People's Congress on the election in the county of deputies to the Sixth NPC in Violation of the Electoral Law; and

Adopt relevant decisions and approve appointments and removals.

Ma Jikong, chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, presided over the meeting and relayed the main guidelines laid down by the first session of the Sixth NPC. He also relayed Chairman Peng Zhen's speech at the first meeting of the Sixth NPC Standing Committee on strengthening the work of the standing committees of people's congresses at various levels.

Wang Zemin, vice chairman and secretary general of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, gave explanations on the establishment of organs under the Standing Committee. He said: To meet the needs in work, it is necessary to reestablish the provincial electoral committee. The committee's main tasks will be to strengthen leadership over electoral work in the province, draft local electoral regulations, supervise deputies, and handle matters regarding the recall and by-election of deputies. It

is suggested the Legislative Affairs Office under the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress be changed to the Political and Legal Commission, the Economic Affairs Office be changed to the Financial and Economic Affairs Commission, and the Cultural, Educational, Scientific and Technological Office be changed to the Educational, Scientific, Technological, Cultural and Public Health Commission of the Standing Committee. Thus, more experts and scholars among deputies to and Standing Committee members of the provincial people's congress will be drawn into such work so that they will pool their wisdom and make the decisions, resolutions, and local regulations adopted by the Standing Committee conform more to reality. This will also help give full play to the role of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress as a local organ of state power.

Comrade Wang Zemin also gave explanations on the main tasks of the credentials committee.

The meeting adopted a decision on the establishment of the Jiangxi Provincial Electoral Committee and a decision on the establishment of the credentials committee, the Political and Legal Commission, the Financial and Economic Affairs Commission, and the Educational, Scientific, Technological, Cultural and Public Health Commission under the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress. The meeting also approved the namelists of chairmen and vice chairmen of the above committee and commissions as follows:

The Provincial Electoral Committee consists of eight members, with Ma Jikong as its chairman and Xie Xianghuang, Xin Junjie, and Huang Xiandu as its vice chairmen.

The credentials committee consists of seven members, with Wang Zemin as its chairman.

The Political and Legal Commission consists of five members, with Zheng Xiaoxian as its chairman and (You Hezhi) and (Li Shujia) as its vice chairmen.

The Financial and Economic Affairs Commission consists of seven members, with Zhang Guozhen as its chairman and (Liu Tierui), (Sun Ze), and (Zhao Xueming)--female as its vice chairmen.

The Educational, Scientific, Technological, Cultural, and Public Health Commission consists of seven members, with Zhang Yuqing as its chairman and (Wen Hanguang), (Li Jun)--female, (Zhao Zhong), (Li Zhu), and (Liao Yanxiong) as its vice chairmen.

Zang Yuqing, Xie Xianghuang, Zhang Guozhen, and Zheng Xiaoxian, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, attended the meeting.

Vice Governor Liu Bin of the provincial people's government, President Liu Bin of the provincial higher people's court and Procurator General Chen Keguang of the provincial people's procuratorate attended the meeting as observers.

Also present as observers were responsible persons of various offices of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, some prefectural administrative offices, the standing committee of people's congresses of some cities directly under the provincial authority, and the standing committees of some county and city people's congresses.

CSO: 4005/1017

EAST REGION

JIANGXI CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ENDS

OW181014 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Jul 83

[Text] The second meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee, after completing its scheduled agenda in a 4-day session, closed at the Zhongshan Hall on the afternoon of 14 July. The meeting was presided over by Liu Jianhua, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC Committee.

The meeting conveyed, studied, and implemented the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth NPC and the first session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee. It also examined the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee's work report for the second quarter of 1983, and discussed and adopted the work plan for the third quarter of 1983.

A plenary session, held on the afternoon of 14 July, unanimously adopted the resolution put forward by the Standing Committee of the fifth provincial CPPCC Committee on studying and implementing the documents of the first session of the Sixth NPC and the first session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee. The session also approved the following personnel appointments: (Zhu Danhua) (female), as chairman of the study committee, and He Shikun, Lu Xiaopeng, Shen Hanqing, Guo Qingfen, (Yao Yongfeng), (Liu Dongtao), (Shao Fang) (female), and (Huang Liqi) as vice chairmen of the committee; Liu Jianhua as chairman of the research committee for historical accounts of past events, and Gu Jiguang, He Shikun, Li Shanyuan, (Huang Tiandu), (Liao Chaolun), (Chen Yuan), and (Sun Yahong) (female), as vice chairmen of the committee; Lu Liang as chairman of the motions work committee, and Li Shanyuan, Wu Yongle, (Chen Yuan), and (Zhang Xiuxi) as vice chairmen of the committee; and (Chen Yuan), (Huang Liqi), (Fang Haishan), and (Zhang Xiuxi) as deputy secretaries general of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee. The session also approved the namelist of the responsible persons for 12 working groups--namely, the science and technology, industry and communications, agriculture, education, medicine and public health, finance and trade, culture and sports, propaganda to Taiwan, politics and law, overseas Chinese, nationalities and religious affairs, and women's affairs working groups.

Wu Ping, chairman of the provincial CPPCC Committee, spoke at the closing session. He gave a three-point instruction on the future work of the provincial CPPCC Committee: 1) We should properly study, publicize, and



carry out the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth NPC and the first session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee, according to the principle of integrating theory with reality; 2) we should bring into full play the enthusiasm and initiative of all sectors of society so as to create a new situation in the work of the people's political consultative conference; and 3) we should actively perform the functions of all working groups and constantly improve the work of the people's political consultative conference.

In conclusion, Comrade Wu Ping said: We should, under the leadership of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee and the guidance of the CPPCC National Committee, unite as one, make concerted efforts, overcome difficulties, and do our work properly so as to constantly make fresh contributions to the great undertaking of revitalizing the Chinese nation.

Provincial CPPCC Committee Vice Chairmen Lu Xiaopeng, Shen Hanqing, Lu Liang, Zhu Danhua, Guo Qingfen, Li Shanyuan, and Wu Yongle; Secretary General (Liu Yurui); and provincial CPPCC Committee Standing Committee member and Director of the United Front Work Department of the provincial party committee (Yang Yongfeng) attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/1017

NORTH REGION

YOUTHS WORKERS IN BEIJING HOLD '4 MAY' FORUM

OW050157 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1621 GMT 3 May 83

[Report by reporters Sun Xiaoming and He Ping]

[Text] Beijing, 3 May (XINHUA)--Representatives of youths and workers of the older generation engaged in youth work from all circles in the capital held a forum today in the Great Hall of the People to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the "4 May" movement.

Xi Zhongxun, Yu Qiuli, Hu Qiaomu, and Hu Qili made warmly-worded speeches at the forum, expressing earnest expectations for the young generation.

Hu Qiaomu spoke first. He said: The 64 years of history from the "4 May" Movement until today is a period in which socialism, communist ideology and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought developed continually in the struggle, after experiencing all kinds of difficulties and tribulations. Future history will remain one of continual struggle and victory, under the guidance of socialism, communist ideology and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

He said: Currently, although historic conditions and tasks have changed, it will take the same spirit of unity, struggle, fearlessness and courage in making self-sacrifices, as displayed in the past 64 years, to push forward history, lead our motherland to affluence and power and the people in the whole country to happiness. Without such a spirit, happiness will not automatically fall from the sky to any individual or people. The happiness of the individual and the people can only be obtained from socialist and collectivist ideology and action. This has long since been proved by history.

Hu Qiaomu said: We should hold high the banner of collectivism, socialism and communism and oppose individualist ideology emerging in any form. Any ideology proceeding from the interests of the individual and which "eyes money" [xiang qian kan 0686 6929 4170] is incompatible with the interests of the entire socialist society and our cause of realizing the socialist modernization for our great motherland. We hope that the youths present at this forum will unite with the broad masses of youths around them in carrying out struggles against all forms of individualist ideology, in vigorously carrying forward collectivist, socialist and communist ideology and in

raising the consciousness of the broad masses of youths and people. Only by so doing can our cause of socialist modernization be smoothly realized.

Then Xi Zhongxun, in his capacity as a veteran CYL member, extended festival greetings to the advanced youths present at the forum and to youths throughout the country, including those juvenile delinquents who are undergoing reform through labor. He wished them a happy festival.

Xi Zhongxun said: The party's 12th Congress and the CYL's 11th Congress have pointed out the direction of advance for the young generation. The young generation is the hope of our society and our cause. The whole party and society should show concern for youths. Our party's and the CYL's cadres should be good at doing youth work and be concerned about their ideology, livelihood, work and all other aspects of their activities. They should cherish and help them. It is especially necessary to show concern and love for those juvenile delinquents and help them.

Young people must rally around the party and modestly learn from society and the people. They should put the interests of the party, the people and others in the first place at all times and become persons of action in the revolution.

He said: Young people should love the party and socialism ardently. They should never waver at any time in their confidence in communism. We should establish a confidence that we will certainly be victorious and should struggle together arduously to realize the lofty communist ideals.

Yu Qiuli pointed out in his speech that one of the important tasks for the contemporary youths is to study. He said: Revolutionary teachers have all pointed out the importance of science and culture to the revolutionary movement. Now, as we are engaged in the four modernizations, we are more inseparable from science and culture. Studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, science and culture is an historic task assigned to our young generation.

Yu Qiuli said: For the PLA fighters, the first thing is to establish the communist ideals and ethics, and the ideology to serve the people, the second is to master modern scientific and cultural knowledge; the third is to stay in fine physical condition; the fourth is to withstand hard work and life, and carry out arduous struggles, and the fifth is to have the spirit of fearlessness in making sacrifices and the courage to contribute their lives.

Hu Qili pointed out at the forum: As our country is carrying out a grand socialist modernization, we need a large number of young cadres and backbone elements with high ideological and cultural qualities. The broad masses of youths should firmly establish communist ideals and confidence, consciously resist corrosion by bourgeois ideology, painstakingly study scientific and cultural knowledge, make efforts to increase practical experience and be prepared at all times to accept selections by the party and the people.

Comrade Lu Dingyi, who worked with the CYL Central Committee in the 1920's, did not attend today's forum. He wrote a speech for the forum.

Wang Zhaoguo, first secretary of the CYL Central Committee, pointed out in his speech: In order to bear the historic responsibility of revitalizing the Chinese nation, the young generation should inherit and carry forward the patriotic spirit of the youths in the "4 May" movement by cherishing a lofty sense of responsibility for society and a selfless spirit of contributing their lives for the sake of the motherland and the people, by adhering to the leadership of the party and the four fundamental principles, by mastering modern scientific, technical and cultural knowledge and standing in the van of the restructuring.

Outstanding CYL member Zhang Haidi and other representatives of youths gave speeches at the forum. They expressed their determination not to fail in living up to the deep trust of the revolutionaries of the older generation in the young generation. They expressed their determination to inherit and carry forward the patriotic tradition of "regarding the rise and fall of the country as one's own responsibility," as displayed by the youths during the "4 May" period, to establish communist ideals, to master modern scientific and cultural knowledge, to bear the heavy historic task of creating a new situation in socialist modernization, and to contribute their youth, wisdom and strength to the revitalization of the Chinese nation.

Attending the forum were responsible persons of the PLA General Political Department, All-China Trade Union Federation, All-China Women's Federation, and other departments concerned.

After the conclusion of the forum, youth literary and art workers in the capital performed literary and art programs for the representatives.

The forum was held jointly by the CYL Central Committee and the All-China Youth Federation.

CSG: 4005/1021

## NORTHEAST REGION

### JILIN RIBAO ON INTELLECTUALS' PARTY MEMBERSHIP

SK110412 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 10 Jul 83

[Text] On 10 June 1983, (Zhao Zhengjie), a high-grade engineer and director of the Scientific Research Institute under the administrative department of the Changbaishan natural protection zone, was admitted as a probationary party member. His long-cherished wish has finally come true. He has, however, gone through all kinds of hardships and difficulties in seeking a lofty political belief. JILIN RIBAO 11 July frontpages an investigative report by reporter (Wan Yuxian) concerning how (Zhao Zhengjie) joined the party. This investigative report is entitled: "The Unnecessary Frustrations."

Early in 1965, (Zhao Zhengjie), for the first time handed in an application to a leading party group to join the party. At that time, the socialist educational movement was underway. In view of his family background and social relationship, it is seemingly logical that nobody paid any attention to his request. Right after that came the 10-year turmoil. Therefore, it is not difficult to comprehend the fact that nobody paid any attention to his request. Thirteen years later, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was opened. (Zhao Zhengjie) once again rushed out to submit an application to party organizations to join the party and repeatedly laid his heart bare before party organizations. However, he always received a negative response.

Why could the problem of (Zhao Zhengjie)'s entering the party not be solved even after stalling for a long time? Through investigation, reporter maintains: It was because of the interference of the pernicious influence of leftist ideas and because of the disturbance by the people who upheld the leftist line. At the same time, this problem was worsened by the flabbiness, impurities, and lack of unity in leading bodies.

JILIN RIBAO carries a commentator's article on this problem entitled: "Be Sure Not To Repeat the Leftist Tune." The article states: Centering on the problems revealed by the issue of (Zhao Zhengjie), we find that the leftist influence hinders the overall implementation of the party's policies towards intellectuals. Meanwhile, it has once again been proven that the implementation of the policies toward intellectuals has not been developed beyond the limit, although some people have said so. On the contrary, we still have a long way to go and have quite a lot of work to do in this regard.

The article points out: The key to achieving success in implementing the policies toward intellectuals lies in the correct understanding of intellectuals. The key to correctly understanding intellectuals lies in further overcoming traditional prejudices and eliminating the influence of the leftist ideas. In approaching the issues concerning knowledge and intellectuals, the pernicious influence of leftist ideas cannot be underrated. Intellectuals have been labeled two ways for a time. One is that they are vocationally proficient but not socialist-minded. The other is that they establish their reputation as an authority. What does it mean that they are vocationally proficient but not socialist-minded? At present, how can we put the label of being vocationally proficient but not socialist-minded on people who immerse themselves in their own professional work for accomplishing the four modernizations and have made due contributions on the premise of adhering to the four basic principles and safeguarding the line, principles, and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Why is it wrong to establish one's reputation as an authority? The party and the people need to foster and bring up a large number of specialists. Therefore, we should not repeat the leftist tune. We had better pay more attention to training talented persons for our undertakings and to loving and protecting such persons.

The article notes: Attaching great importance to knowledge and intellectuals is a sign of historical progress as well as an inexorable trend in reform. This is also a new trial for every revolutionary. All leaders who adhere to the Marxist line should serve as a Bo Le of the new age who respects knowledge and cherishes talented persons and should create conditions in various fields so as to give full scope to the role of intellectuals. The people who repeat the leftist tune, stick to the leftist line, oppose the party's policies towards intellectuals and directly or indirectly and openly or secretly deal blows to, suppress and discriminate against intellectuals should be dismissed from leading posts in a resolute manner.

What should be stressed is: In the final analysis, the problem of intellectuals having difficulty in joining the party is a problem of how to understand knowledge and intellectuals. Success or failure in solving this problem will directly affect socialist construction. Let us all be concerned with this problem, make concerted efforts to solve it and further eliminate the pernicious influence of leftist ideas so as to better fulfill all fighting tasks set forth by the 12th National Party Congress and by the Sixth NPC.

040: 4005/1016



## NORTHEAST REGION

### PEOPLE'S CONGRESS HOLDS SECOND MEETING

SK170424 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 16 Jul 83

[Text] The sixth provincial people's congress standing committee held its second meeting from 10 to 15 July. During the session, participants heard the report on relaying the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth NPC delivered by Yu Ke, chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, conscientiously studied the important speeches of President Li Xiannian and Chairman Peng Zhen and Premier Zhao Ziyang's government work report, and warmly discussed these speeches and Zhao Ziyang's report on the basis of reading them.

In discussions, participants maintained: To implement the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth NPC, it is necessary to study well the selected works of Deng Xiaoping and pay great attention to this work. In discussion of the implementation of the central instructive on concentrating the financial and material capacities on ensuring the construction of the state key projects, participants pledged to carry forward the due role of the people's congress to develop well this major matter which has a bearing on the future of the modernization drive. At the meeting, many committee members raised suggestions and opinions related to the restructure of the economic system, the political and judicial work and the stabilizing of prices with which the people are concerned.

The meeting passed a resolution on studying, propagating and implementing the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth NPC and examined and approved some personnel changes. (Gao Wen) was appointed as secretary general of the provincial people's government; (Wang Hongmo) was appointed as deputy president of the provincial higher people's court; (Feng Shouli) was appointed as a deputy president of the provincial higher people's court; and (Guo Yalan) was appointed as another deputy president of the provincial higher people's court.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Chairman Yu Ke spoke. Vice Chairman Yang Qiantao delivered a speech on strengthening the legal system. Also attending the meeting were Liu Cikai, Cheng Shengsan, Wang Jiren, Yu Ruihuang, (Dong Shu) and Ren-qin-zha-mu-su, vice chairmen of the provincial people's congress standing committee. Attending the meeting as observers were responsible persons of the departments concerned at the provincial level and of the people's congress standing committees in various cities, prefectures, autonomous prefectures, counties and districts.

CSO: 4005/1016

NORTHEAST REGION

HEILONGJIANG TO HOLD PARTY CONGRESS 22 JULY

SK200400 Harbin Heilongjiang Province Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Jul 83

[Text] The seventh plenary session of the Fourth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee was held in Harbin on 18 and 19 July. The session decided to open the Fifth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Congress on 22 July.

Attending the session were 72 members and 18 alternate members of the provincial CPC committee, totaling 90 persons. Comrade Li Lian, on behalf of the Fourth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee, delivered a report to explain some points in the draft of the report to be delivered at the fifth provincial CPC congress and the preparations for the Fifth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Congress. After discussions, the session approved in principle the report that will be delivered at the Fifth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Congress by Comrade Li Lian on behalf of the Fourth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee. It also approved the agenda of the fifth provincial CPC congress.

In line with the guidelines of the 12th National CPC Congress and the first session of the Sixth NPC, the Fifth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Congress will conscientiously sum up the work of the fourth provincial CPC committee, discuss and define the tasks for the coming 5 years and mobilize party members and the people throughout the province to strive for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization of our province. The congress will hear and examine the report of the Fourth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee and the report of the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee, and elect the Fifth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee and its Advisory Commission and Discipline Inspection Commission.

Preparations for the Fifth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Congress have been completed.

CSO: 4005/1016

## NORTHEAST REGION

### PROVINCIAL ENERGY CONSERVATION CONFERENCE HELD

SK200408 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 19 Jul 83

[Text] Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, our province has conscientiously implemented the principle of attaching equal importance to energy exploitation and conservation while giving priority to the latter on a short-term basis, thus bringing about steady growth in industrial production and reducing energy consumption every year. However, there still are some problems, such as poor management, heavy waste, low scientific and technological level, and low standard in comprehensive utilization of energy.

How should we open up a new situation in the province's energy conservation work? The provincial energy conservation work conference, which concluded recently, suggested: It is necessary to strengthen control over energy quotas, institute a fixed energy quota system, and set evaluation targets which should be examined once every year. All localities should step up the work to install electricity, water, and gas meters. By the end of this year, Changchun City should abrogate the system of guaranteed supply of electricity, water, and gas for civilian use in urban areas. Other cities and counties should speed up installation of electricity, water, and gas meters in line with the provincial government's instruction. In the meantime, enterprise energy surveys and enterprise heat balance work should be completed within a fixed period of time, and measurement instruments and meters should be installed at enterprises. All localities should further strengthen energy management and establish and improve energy conservation rules and regulations. Energy conservation work should be linked with the economic responsibility system and energy conservation targets should be assigned to each level so that rewards and punishments can be duly meted out.

The provincial energy conservation work conference urged: All localities should also accelerate modification of equipment, aiming at energy conservation, and should make the modified equipment yield results within a definite time limit. It is necessary to successfully carry out energy conservation technical transformations, apply advanced energy conservation technology, earnestly observe this year's energy conservation month, conduct enterprise energy surveys in a down-to-earth manner, and extend the activities to evaluate energy conservation and management work so as to prepare for the national evaluation of advanced enterprises.

CSO: 4005/1016

## NORTHEAST REGION

### JILIN HOLDS MEETING TO STUDY DENG'S WORKS

SK201234 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 19 Jul 83

[Text] On 19 July, Standing Committee members of the provincial CPC Committee spent a day seriously studying the selected works of Deng Xiaoping, reviewing the history, relating reality and talking freely about the significance of studying the selected works of Deng Xiaoping.

In their talks they pointed out: The articles and speeches of the selected works of Deng Xiaoping are a series of correct views and tactics for bringing order out of chaos put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who has applied the tenets of Marxism to solve all the difficulties facing the party and the state under extremely complicated historical conditions.

Under the guidance of the correct ideology of the party Central Committee, represented by Deng Xiaoping, the party and the state smoothly effected the great historical transformation. The correct ideology of Comrade Deng Xiaoping plays a decisive role in realizing our state's political stability, restoring the party's Marxist political line, and putting an end to the turbulence of our state.

They said: Passing this phase of history, we are moved studying the glorious expositions of Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Before smashing the gang of four, under the situation in which the struggle was extremely difficult and complicated, Comrade Deng Xiaoping took the risk of being overthrown to resolutely wage a struggle against the gang of four for the future and for the destiny of the party and the state. Without dauntless [words indistinct], the noble quality of selflessness, or the true essence of mature Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, it would have been impossible to smash the gang of four.

After the smashing of the gang of four, Comrade Deng Xiaoping lodged a protest against the two whatevers, urged a complete and correct understanding of Mao Zedong thought, emancipating the mind, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one, looking ahead, and adhering to the four basic principles and [words indistinct].

The glorious expositions of Comrade Deng Xiaoping adhere to and develop Mao Zedong thought under new historical conditions. Study of the selected works of Deng Xiaoping is full of significance for raising the ideological

and theoretical level of the entire party, realizing the grand strategic objectives of the 12th Party Congress, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The ideological views of the selected works of Deng Xiaoping systematically reflect the political leadership of the party, represented by Deng Xiaoping. Study of Deng Xiaoping's selected works is of great significance for the entire party to ideologically and practically act in unison with the party Central Committee and mental preparations for comprehensive party rectification in the coming autumn and winter.

In their talks, they also pointed out: Studying the selected works of Deng Xiaoping is a great task for the entire party. Leading party cadres at all levels should take the lead in studying them. We should link study with reality, sum up experience and lessons, overcome all wrong ideas, further raise awareness of adhering to the lines set forth at the third plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the 12th Party Congress so as to push the work forward.

The study meeting also made specific arrangements for standing committee members of the provincial CPC Committee to study the selected works of Deng Xiaoping and urged all Standing Committee members to [words indistinct] study them. On the basis of self study, Standing Committee members should hold discussion meetings twice a month, and office cadres may study the works by holding study classes.

Attending the study meeting were some leading comrades of the provincial advisory committee, the people's congress standing committee, the government and the CPPCC Committee.

CSO: 4005/1016

HISTORY'S CONCLUSION: DENG SURPASSED MAO

Hong Kong MING PAO in English 3 Jul 83 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text]

The First of July is the 62nd anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. China is celebrating this chiefly with the publication of The "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping". Deng does not write very often. "Selected Writings" consists mainly of his speeches between 1975 and September 1982. We have to deduct over a year from this period when the "Deng criticism" movement took place, and he was denied any right to speak at all.

In January 1975, he resumed office when Chou Enlai was seriously ill. He concentrated his energy on shaping up the army, shaping up industry, and building up the economy. But his efforts were everywhere curtailed by the Gang of Four, and with Mao reigning supreme, there was not much that Deng could really achieve. It was not until his second comeback in 1977 that he could gradually put his ideals into practice.

On the 1st July, People's Daily published a long article introducing "Selected Writings of Deng", and hailed it as "brilliant writings at a great historical turning point". Although the article is signed "Li Qi", there is little doubt that it has been read and approved by the PRC central government, and represent the official evaluation of "Selected Writings"—in fact, the official evaluation of Deng Xiaoping's role in the past seven or eight years. Since "what is said is not important; only what is done is", the ability and contribution of Deng are not to be judged by how brilliantly the articles are written, or how elegantly the speeches are, but by the correctness of his thoughts, and even more, his ability to overcome one grave obstacle after another to put these thoughts into practice.

According to Chinese custom, when you list someone's major achievements you always make a list of his "Ten Great Achievements", neither more nor less. It is never nine achievements, and never eleven. The PRC follows this tradition and lists Deng's ten great achievements as: 1. Breaking the confines of dogmatism and personality cult, and re-establishing the pragmatic way of thinking of material dialectics. 2. Correcting erroneous ideas about class struggle and reforming the attention of the entire party and entire nation on economic development. 3. Starting from the actual situation of the nation of China, and following a Chinese style of socialism towards modernisation development. 4. Recognizing the importance of knowledge and intellectuals, of science and education. 5. Fully using the advantages of the socialist system and reforming the system of leadership of the Party and the nation. 6. Establishing a high level of socialist spirit while establishing a high level of material progress. 7. Setting up the united front of revolutionary patriotism. 8. Building a modern, regular revolutionary



army. 9. Building up the Party as the strong nucleus for leading the programme of socialistic modernisation and development. 10. Safeguarding the historical position of Comrade Mao Tsetung and correctly evaluating Mao Tsetung thought.

This is the PRC's evaluation of Deng Xiaoping from the viewpoint of the Communist Party. We are not members of the Communist Party. We may not even agree that socialism is necessarily good for building up the country. So we may not entirely agree with the above evaluation. In special, it cannot be said that he has already succeeded in building up the army or the Party. Also, Deng's criticism of Mao is too lenient. The last three items are open to question. However, there is not doubt that Deng Xiaoping had played an important role in redirecting things to the right path, by breaking up the personality cult, by emphasizing economic development rather than class struggle, by finding the right way for China based on the realities in China, by open up to the outside world, putting into practice a system that makes people responsible for their areas, recognizing the importance of intellectuals and scientific education, by opposing lifetime positions and emphasizing professionalism, emphasizing culture, morality and interpersonal relationship, and so on. Deng's line and Mao's are definitely diametrically opposite to each other. "Deng surpassed Mao" should be an indubitable conclusion of history.

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